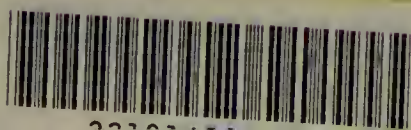


30656/C



22102151







J. ALBERT

AUGUSTUS.

1804 (1805) 1/2 cent.

AMERICAN ARTISTS



The multitude collected swifter than the command, all snatching up their arms as if for the freedom of the capital; and twenty thousand men advanced in military array to Jerusalem, under the orders of four generals: John, and James, the son of Sosas; Simon, son of Cathlas; and Phineas, son of Clusoth.

3. But though the egress of the messengers was concealed alike from Ananus and the sentinels, not so was the approach of the Idumæans. Informed of their march, Ananus directed the gates to be shut and the walls manned. Utterly averse, however, to warlike measures, he determined to try persuasion, before recourse were had to arms. Accordingly Joshua, the chief priest next in seniority to Ananus, ascending the tower opposite to the Idumæans, addressed them as follows:—

“Amidst the many and various tumults which have agitated the city, in nothing have I so much wondered at the decrees of fortune, as that even what is unexpected should favour the wicked. For you have come to assist these most abandoned of men against us with such alacrity as could not have been anticipated even had our metropolis summoned you against the barbarians. Had I seen your ranks composed of persons of the same stamp as those who invited you, I should not have considered your enterprise irrational; for nothing so cements the affections of men as congeniality of disposition. But as to these, were we to examine them one by one, they would be found deserving each of a thousand deaths. For they, the jest and off-scouring of the whole country, after having squandered their private means, and made trial of their madness on the neighbouring villages and towns, have at length poured clandestinely into the Holy City: brigands who through their unparalleled impiety have polluted this hallowed ground, and who may now be seen recklessly drunk in the sanctuary, and lavishing the spoils of the slain on their own insatiable appetites.

“But as to your forces, and their appointments, we see them such as would have become them, had the capital, in public council, summoned them to her aid against a foreign foe. And what can we then style it but an insult of fortune, when we survey a whole nation aiding these noted reprobates? Deeply perplexed I am as to what could have inspired you with so sudden a resolve; for you would not, without cogent reason, have put on your armour in behalf of brigands, and against a kindred people. But, as we have heard of Romans and treason—for some of you have just now raised a clamour on this subject, and given out that you are come to rescue the metropolis from thralldom—more have we wondered at the ingenuity

of this falsehood than at all the other daring conduct of these wretches : for men by nature fond of liberty, and on that account ever alert to contend with a foreign enemy, no otherwise could they exasperate against us than by fabricating a charge of betraying our loved freedom. But it becomes you to consider who they are that disseminate this calumny, and at whom it is aimed, and to collect the truth, not from mendacious statements, but from public events. For what necessity now binds us to sell ourselves to the Romans, when we need not have revolted in the first instance ; or, having once revolted, might have returned without delay to our allegiance, ere yet all around had been reduced to desolation ? Whereas now, were we desirous to effect a reconciliation, it would be no easy matter, when the conquest of Galilee has swelled the pride of the Romans ; and to court them, now that they are at our very doors, would bring upon us a disgrace more bitter than death. As regards myself, indeed, I would have preferred peace to death ; but having once declared war, and taken the field, I would rather die with glory, than live in captivity.

“ Do they say, however, that we, the rulers of the people, have privately communicated with the Romans ; or that the people themselves so determined by public decree ? If they accuse us, let them name the friends whom we deputed, or the servants who negotiated the treason. Has any one been discovered proceeding on the errand, or seized in returning ? Are they in possession of our letters ? How could we conceal such a transaction from so many of our fellow-citizens with whom we are hourly associating ? And yet, forsooth, to this small party, and they under guard, and unable to move from the temple into the city, are known the things which are secretly transacted in the country ? They have now become sensible, doubtless, that they must suffer the punishment of their audacity ; for so long as they were free from apprehension, none of us was suspected as a traitor.

“ Is it, however, against the people that they prefer this charge ? Then must the people have publicly deliberated on the subject, and no one would have been excluded from the assembly : in which case, more speedily than any formal communication, rumour would have hastened to you with the tidings. But what then ? Must not ambassadors, in such an event, have been sent to ratify the reconciliation ? Let them tell us, who was designated to that office. But this is clearly a pretext of men struggling against death, and anxious to ward off impending punishment. For, if it had been fated that this city should be betrayed, those who now accuse us would alone have ventured upon the deed : inasmuch as treason is the only crime want-

ing to fill up the measure of their guilt. And now, Idumæans, since you are here in arms, it is your duty, and a most righteous one, to succour the metropolis, and unite with us in cutting off these tyrants, who have set at nought our tribunals, trampled on our laws, and passed sentence with their swords. Men of illustrious rank they have dragged from the public market-place, throwing them disgracefully into chains, without any accusation alleged against them; and, regarding neither their cries nor supplications, delivered them to death. You are at liberty to enter the city, but not by right of war, and witness the proofs of what we state:—houses laid desolate by their rapine, widows and orphans of the murdered clothed in mourning, and wailing and lamentation throughout the whole city; for there is no one who has not tasted their unhallowed violence. To such an extreme of insanity have they arrived, as not only to transfer their brigand daring from the country and remote towns to the head and face of the nation at large, but even from the city to the temple. Accordingly, that is now converted into a rallying-point and retreat for them, and has become the magazine of their preparations against us. That place, revered by the world, and honoured from the ends of the earth by aliens, to whom it is known only by report, is trampled under foot by wild beasts, generated on the spot.

“And they exult in a state of things which has now become thus desperate:—communities arrayed against communities, cities against cities, and the nation itself marshalling an army against its own bowels. Instead of aiding such a cause, surely it were most honourable and becoming in you to unite with us, as I have said, in destroying these monsters, and chastising them for their deceit in daring to summon as allies those whom they should have feared as avengers. Still, if you respect the invitation of such men, you have it in your option to lay aside your arms, and, entering the city in the character of relations, to assume an intermediate name between allies and enemies, and constitute yourselves judges. Consider, too, what advantage will be theirs; tried by you for notorious and serious offences, while they did not allow even the unimpeached to utter a word in their defence. This benefit, however, let them enjoy from your arrival.

“If, notwithstanding, you will neither share our indignation, nor yet become umpires in the dispute, a third course is open to you, namely, to leave both parties to themselves, and neither insult our calamities, nor coalesce with these conspirators against the capital. For, if you strongly suspect some of us of being in communication with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the outlets; and,

should any of the misdeeds imputed to us be discovered, you can then come and protect the metropolis, and punish those convicted of crime. Stationed as you are so close to the city, none of the enemy can take you by surprise. If, however, nothing I have proposed seem to you reasonable or moderate, do not marvel that our gates remain closed, so long as you maintain a warlike attitude."

4. Such was Joshua's address. The Idumæans, however, paid no attention to it, but were the rather irritated at not obtaining instant admission. The generals, too, were indignant at the suggestion that they should lay down their arms; deeming it the act of a captive to do so at the bidding of any one. Simon, son of Cathlas, one of their leaders, having with much difficulty allayed the ferment among his men, and standing within hearing of the chief priests, replied:—

"I am no longer surprised that the champions of liberty are in durance in the temple, since there are men who close our common city against their own nation, and are preparing, withal, their gates peradventure crowned with garlands, to admit the Romans; while they confer with the Idumæans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw away those weapons which they have taken up in defence of freedom. Refusing to entrust the protection of the capital to their kindred, they would yet appoint them umpires in their disputes; and, whilst they accuse some of having put their fellow-citizens to death uncondemned, adjudge the whole nation to be treated with ignominy. At least ye have a city, wont to be opened for religious worship even to foreigners, barricaded against your own people; because, forsooth, we were hastening to the slaughter, and to war against our own countrymen!—we who are hurrying to preserve you in freedom, hapless beings as you are. Doubtless you have been aggrieved in like manner by those whom you keep in ward; and equally credible, I presume, is your catalogue of insinuations against them. If so, how comes it that, detaining under guard as many of those within the city as are interested for the public welfare, and closing its gates against the collective body of a kindred people, and issuing such insulting mandates, you say that you are oppressed by tyrants, and attach the stigma of despotism to those who are groaning under your own tyranny? Who can tolerate this delusion in words, which he perceives to be utterly at variance with the facts? Unless, indeed, it be that even now the Idumæans, whom you debar from their holy national rites, are rather excluding you from the metropolis? It were a more just ground of complaint against those blockaded in the temple, that, while they had the courage to punish those traitors whom you call men of eminence, and whom, as partakers in

their crimes, you pronounce free from imputation, they did not begin with yourselves, and thus cut away in the outset the main promoters of treason. If, however, they have evinced a greater degree of lenity than the juncture demanded, let us Idumæans stand by the house of God, and, drawing our swords in behalf of our common country, defend it alike from the assaults of enemies without, and from the machinations of traitors within. Here before these walls will we remain in arms, until the Romans, weary of attending to your proposals, or a change of sentiments leads you to espouse the cause of freedom."

5. While this harangue was calling forth the acclamations of the Idumæans, Joshua withdrew in dejection, seeing them opposed to all moderate measures, and the city visited with war from two quarters. Nor were the minds of the Idumæans at rest; for, irritated at the insult offered them, in their exclusion from the city, and perceiving no aid at hand from the Zealot party, whom they supposed to be in considerable strength, they became perplexed, and many repented that they had come. But the shame of returning without having accomplished their purpose so far predominated over their regrets, that they maintained their position before the walls, where they bivouacked in miserable plight: for during the night a terrific storm arose; the winds blew with tempestuous violence, and the rain fell in torrents: the lightnings flashed without intermission, accompanied by fearful peals of thunder, and the quaking earth resounded with mighty bellowings. The universe, convulsed to its very base, appeared fraught with the destruction of mankind; and it was easy to conjecture that these were portents of no trivial calamity.

6. Among the Idumæans, and those in the city, the same opinion prevailed. The former were persuaded that God was angry at their expedition, and that they would not escape his judgments for bearing arms against the metropolis: while Ananus, and his party, imagined that they had triumphed without a contest, and that God was fighting in their defence. But they were mistaken in their conjectures as to the future, and the sufferings which they prognosticated against their enemies were destined to fall upon their friends. For the Idumæans, drawing their bodies together, kept each other warm; and, connecting their shields over their heads, suffered no material injury from the rain; while the Zealots, more concerned for their danger than for their own, met to consider what expedient could be devised for their relief. The more ardent advised that they should force the sentries, sword in hand; and, rushing boldly into the midst of the city, open the gates to their allies: the guards,

thrown into disorder by their unexpected sally, would give way, and the more readily, as the greater part were unarmed, and inexperienced in war; while it would be difficult to collect the citizens in force, confined as they were to their houses by the storm. And even should there be any danger, it became them to undergo every possible suffering, rather than leave so vast a multitude to perish disgracefully on their account.

Of these violent measures, however, the more judicious disapproved, seeing not only the full complement of men on guard around them, but the walls of the city carefully watched, on account of the Idumæans. They concluded, also, that Ananus would be everywhere present, examining the posts at all hours. And this had, in fact, been his practice on other nights; though on this the duty was omitted, not from any supineness on his part, but by the overruling appointment of Fate, that he himself might perish, and the whole of the guards. As the night advanced, and the storm was reaching its height, it lulled to sleep the sentinels in the colonnade; at the same time suggesting to the Zealots the thought of taking the saws belonging to the temple, and severing the bars of the gates. The violence of the wind, and the successive peals of thunder, aided their purpose, and prevented the noise from being heard.

7. Withdrawing secretly from the temple, they reached the walls, and, employing their saws, opened the gate nearest to the Idumæans. They, supposing themselves attacked by Ananus and his party, were at first seized with alarm, and every man had his hand on his sword for defence, but, quickly recognising their visitors, they entered with them. Had they turned immediately upon the city, so ungovernable was their rage, that nothing could have prevented the utter destruction of the people: but they hastened first to liberate the Zealots from custody, at the earnest solicitation of those who had introduced them. They besought them not to neglect those for whose sake they had come, surrounded as they were with difficulties, nor involve them in yet more serious danger. Were the guards mastered, it would be easy to advance against the city; whereas, should they make their first movement in that direction, they could not afterwards overpower the sentries; for, at the first intimation, they would form their ranks, and close the approaches.

CHAPTER V.

1. IN compliance with these representations, the Idumæans marched up through the city to the temple, the Zealots, meantime, awaiting their arrival in a state of anxious suspense. As they were entering, the latter, taking courage, advanced from the inner court of the temple, and, mixing with the Idumæans, attacked the sentries. Some of them who lay in front they killed in their sleep, till the whole multitude, roused by the cries of those who were awake, snatched up their arms in consternation, and hastened to the defence. So long as they supposed themselves assailed only by the Zealots, they fought with spirit, hoping to overpower them by numbers, but, perceiving others pouring in from without, they became aware of the irruption of the Idumæans. The greater portion threw away at once their courage and their arms, and abandoned themselves to lamentations. A few of the younger, however, fencing themselves in, gallantly received the Idumæans, and, for a considerable time, protected the feebler multitude. These, by their cries, indicated their calamities to those in the city, but no one ventured to their assistance, when it was known that the Idumæans had fallen upon them; on the contrary, they loudly echoed back the cries and lamentations. A frightful shrieking of women arose, and each individual of the guards became alive to his own personal danger. The Zealots joined in the battle-cry of the Idumæans, and the shouting on all sides was rendered still more fearful by the howling of the storm.

The Idumæans gave no quarter. Naturally of a most cruel and sanguinary disposition, and, moreover, irritated by the tempest, they directed their weapons against those who had shut them out, treating alike both the suppliants and the resisting; and, in many instances, piercing with their swords those who were reminding them of their relationship, and imploring them to respect their common temple. No room for flight remained, nor hope of safety; but, crushed together, they were cut down one upon another, and the greater part, driven forward—for there was no spot to which they could retreat, while their murderers were rushing upon them—precipitated themselves, in their perplexity, headlong into the city, consigning themselves to a fate more miserable, as it seems to me, than that from which they fled. The outer court of the temple was inundated with blood, and the day dawned upon eight thousand five hundred dead.

2. The rage of the Idumæans being still unsatiated, they turned to the city, pillaging every house, and killing all who fell in their way; but, thinking their time wasted upon the rest of the multitude, they searched for the chief priests, the greater part joining in the pursuit; and they were no sooner taken than slain. Standing over their dead bodies, they reviled Ananus for his benevolence to the people, and Joshua for his address from the ramparts; and to such an excess of impiety did they proceed, that they cast them out unburied, though the Jews are so attentive to the rites of sepulture, as to take down even those who have undergone the sentence of crucifixion, and inter them before sunset. I should not be wrong in saying, that with the death of Ananus began the capture of the city, and that from that very day on which the Jews beheld their high priest, and the guardian of their safety, murdered in the midst of Jerusalem, its bulwarks were laid low, and the Jewish state overthrown.

In every respect Ananus was a man much to be revered. In integrity he was surpassed by none; and, though distinguished by birth, station, and the honours which he had acquired, he delighted in placing himself on a level with the humblest. Unbounded in his love of liberty, and an admirer of democracy, he ever preferred the public weal to his private interests. To maintain peace was his leading object; persuaded that the Roman power was irresistible, and foreseeing that in a war with them, unless matters should be skilfully accommodated, the Jews would be involved in inevitable ruin. In a word, had Ananus survived, such an accommodation would have been effected; for he was powerful in his appeals, and successful in gaining over the people to his views, and, if he had been spared to control those who thwarted him, or carried on the war, the Jews, under such a leader, would have greatly retarded the triumph of the Romans. With him, too, had been associated Joshua, who, though comparatively inferior to him, was superior to the others. And I am of opinion that God, having doomed the city, as polluted, to destruction, and wishing to purify the sanctuary with fire, cut off these their defenders, who so affectionately loved them. Those who but lately had been clothed with the sacred vestments, had presided over the worship emblematic of the mundane system, and been regarded with reverence by all who, from every quarter of the globe, visited the city, were seen cast out naked, to become the food of dogs and beasts of prey. Virtue herself, as I think, groaned over the fate of these men, lamenting that she should have been so completely overcome by wickedness. Such, however, was the end of Ananus and Joshua.

3. When these were dispatched, the Zealots and Idumæans

attacked and butchered the people, as if they had been a herd of unclean beasts. Those of the humbler classes they destroyed on the spot where they were taken; but those of noble birth, and the young, were on their arrest fettered, and thrown into prison, their execution being delayed in the hope that some of them would go over to their party. Not one, however, listened to their proposals, all preferring to die rather than array themselves with the wicked against their country. But dreadful were the sufferings they endured on account of this refusal. They were scourged and racked, and when their bodies could no longer sustain these tortures, they were reluctantly given over to the sword. Those apprehended by day were dispatched at night, and their bodies thrown out to make room for fresh prisoners. Such was the consternation of the people that no one dared openly to weep for, or even to bury, a deceased relative; but, shut up in their houses, they wept in secret, and groaned with circumspection, lest any of their enemies should overhear their lamentations. The mourner forthwith equally suffered with the mourned. By night, indeed, taking up a little dust in their hands, they cast it on the bodies, and some of the more venturesome did so by day. Twelve thousand youths, of noble birth, were thus consigned to destruction.

4. The Zealots, now satiated with slaughter, even to loathing, shamelessly set up mock tribunals, and courts of justice. Purposing to kill Zacharias, son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, they summoned in due form seventy of the leading men of the people, in the character of judges, but destitute of their authority. His extreme hatred of evil, and love of liberty, had excited their peculiar aversion, and his possessions, moreover, being ample, they hoped not only to enjoy the plunder of his property, but to get rid of a powerful and dangerous adversary. They accordingly accused him of a design to betray the state to the Romans, and of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with Vespasian. In support of this allegation no proof, either positive or presumptive, was adduced; but they declared that they were themselves fully persuaded of its truth, and this they demanded to be received as establishing the fact.

Zacharias, however, conscious that no hope of safety was left him, as they had treacherously summoned him to a prison, not to trial, did not allow despair of life to deprive him of liberty of speech; but, rising from his seat, ridiculed the likelihood of the accusation, and in few words refuted the charges brought against him. He then addressed himself to his accusers, went over their various enormities in order, and deeply lamented the confusion of public affairs. The Zealots now became outrageous, with difficulty withheld their

swords, though anxious to play out the farce of a tribunal to the close, and desirous, also, to test the judges, whether, disregarding their own peril, they would be mindful of justice. The seventy, preferring rather to die with the accused, than to bear the imputation of being parties to his destruction, brought in a verdict of acquittal. On hearing the sentence, a clamour arose among the Zealots, who were all indignant at the judges for not understanding that their authority had been confided to them in mere mockery. Two of the most daring of them, however, attacking Zacharias, slew him in the midst of the temple, and, thus addressing him in derision as he fell—"You have now our verdict also, and a more effective acquittal"—forthwith threw him headlong from the temple into the ravine below. They then assailed the judges, and, striking them insultingly with the backs of their swords, drove them from the court, sparing their lives for this sole reason that, being dispersed through the city, they might proclaim to all the vassalage to which they were reduced.

5. The Idumæans, dissatisfied with these proceedings, now began to regret their presence among them. An individual attached to the Zealot party came to them privately, and, convening them for the purpose, pointed out to them the lawless acts of those who had invited them, and set forth in detail the injuries inflicted on the capital. "They had armed, forsooth, as if the chief priests were betraying the metropolis to the Romans; but they had discovered no evidence of treason; whereas they who professed to be its defenders, were themselves the daring perpetrators of deeds of war and despotism. It would have been well to prevent these occurrences in the outset, but, since they had once associated with them in shedding the blood of their countrymen, it was now at least incumbent on them to put a stop to these atrocities, and no longer continue to strengthen the hands of men who were subverting the national institutions. If any had been offended at the gates being closed, and entrance denied to them, those who excluded them had been punished. Ananus was dead; and in one night almost the whole of the populacc had been swept away.

"That many of their own party now repented of the step they had taken, it was not difficult to discern; and they perceived how unmeasured was the cruelty of those who had invited them, and who showed no respect for their deliverers. They had dared to commit the vilest atrocities under the very eyes of their confederates; and their iniquities would be charged on the Idumæans, so long as they adopted no measures of prevention, nor withdrew from the perpetrators. Since, then, the story of the treason appeared to

be a calumny, and no inroad of the Romans was expected, and as a despotism not easily to be subverted was established in the city, they ought to return home, and, by breaking off all connexion with these bad men, offer some atonement for the injuries, into a participation in which they had been entrapped."

CHAPTER VI.

1. INDUCED by these arguments, the Idumæans returned home from Jerusalem, having first liberated the citizens confined in the prisons, in number about two thousand, who immediately fled from the city to Simon, of whom we shall speak presently. On both factions, as it happened, their departure had an unlooked-for effect. The people, ignorant of their repentance, and supposing themselves relieved from enemies, resumed a momentary confidence. The Zealots, on the other hand, rather increased in audacity: not as being deserted by allies, but freed from those who discountenanced and repressed their lawless violence. They accordingly proceeded in their iniquitous courses without delay or deliberation, and with the utmost rapidity devised, and quicker than thought executed their projects. But they thirsted chiefly for the blood of the brave and noble. The latter they murdered from envy; the former through fear: for they surmised that their own safety depended on leaving none of those in authority alive. Hence they put to death, together with many others, Gorion, a person exalted both by station and birth, democratical in his principles, and deeply imbued with a love of freedom, if ever Jew was so. His boldness of speech, added to his other excellences, was the chief cause of his ruin. Nor did Niger of Peræa escape their hands; a man particularly distinguished in the conflicts with the Romans. He was dragged through the midst of the city, frequently calling aloud, and exposing his scars. When brought without the gates, despairing of life, he besought them for the rites of sepulture: but, fiercely declaring that they would not grant him the grave of which he was so desirous, they completed the murder. He died, imprecating on their heads the vengeance of the Romans, and famine and pestilence in addition to war, and moreover, that the hands of each should be raised against the others. All these curses on the wretches did God most justly ratify, inasmuch as they were doomed ere long to feel in their dissensions the effects of each

others' frenzy. Niger's removal relieved them from apprehensions as to the dissolution of their power. There was, however, no class of the people for whose destruction a pretext was not devised. Those with whom any of them had formerly been at variance were put to death: and against those who had given them no umbrage in time of peace, charges suitable to the occasion were invented. The man who held no intercourse with them was suspected of pride; he who approached with freedom, of treating them with contempt; he who courted them, of treachery. The same punishment awaited the most trivial, as well as the greatest allegations—death; and none escaped, but those whose safety lay in the utter meanness of their birth or fortune.

2. The Roman generals, looking on the dissensions of their enemies as a godsend, were anxious to march against Jerusalem, and urged the point on Vespasian, who was now lord supreme; observing, "that Divine providence was their ally, in that their enemies were turning one against the other. There might, however, be some sudden change, and the Jews, either wearied with these intestine broils, or repenting of their crimes, might quickly return to unanimity." To these remarks Vespasian replied, that "they greatly erred in their views of what ought to be done, and were anxious to make a theatrical, though dangerous, display of their prowess and their arms, without due regard to their advantage and safety. For, should they immediately attack the city, the effect would be to reunite their opponents, and induce them to turn their forces in full strength against them: whereas, by waiting awhile, they would have fewer to contend with, as many would be consumed in the sedition. God was a better general than he, and was delivering up the Jews to the Romans without any exertion on their part, and granting the army a dangerless victory. While, therefore, their adversaries were perishing by their own hands, and labouring under that greatest of evils—sedition, they should rather remain quiet spectators of their peril, than combat with men who courted death, and were infuriated against each other.

"But should any one think that the glory of a victory obtained without a contest loses its zest, let him know that success obtained by quiet measures is preferable to the uncertainty of arms. For not less illustrious should we deem those who have triumphed by self-control and sagacity, than those who win distinction in the field. Moreover, while the enemy were diminishing their numbers, he would fain recruit the strength of his army, and invigorate it after its continued toils. Neither was this the fitting moment for those who were

aspiring to the honours of a splendid victory : for the Jews were not employed in preparing arms, erecting fortifications, or enlisting auxiliaries, in which case delay would tell against those who permitted it ; but, exhausted by civil war and dissension, they were suffering greater miseries from day to day than their assailants could inflict upon those who fell into their hands. Influenced, then, by a regard to their own safety, the Romans should allow them to proceed in the work of self-destruction ; or, if they looked to the glory of success, they ought not to attack those who were labouring under domestic troubles. For it would be said, and with reason, that they owed their triumph to the sedition, not to their arms."

3. In these observations of Vespasian the officers concurred ; and the policy of his views soon became apparent. Many deserted daily to escape the Zealots, though flight was difficult ; for all the outlets were guarded, and every one caught in them, on whatever pretext, was instantly put to death, as though he were going over to the Romans. He, however, who bought exemption was permitted to go free, and he only who gave nothing was a traitor. Hence it followed, that, as the rich purchased escape, the poor alone were slaughtered. Along all the roads the dead were piled in heaps ; and many, who had been eager to desert, chose ultimately to perish within the walls : for the hope of interment made death in their native city appear more tolerable. To such an excess of cruelty did the Zealots at length proceed, as to grant burial neither to those slain within the city, nor on the roads ; but, as if they had entered into a compact to dissolve, together with the laws of their country, the rights of nature, and to combine their injustice towards men with pollution of the Deity himself, they left the dead putrefying in the sun.

To those who interred a relative, as well as to deserters, the punishment was death ; and he who gave burial to another stood instantly in need of it himself. In a word, no virtuous emotion was so utterly lost amidst these calamities, as pity. For what should have melted, only exasperated these monsters ; as from the living to the slain, and from the dead to the living, their fury alternated. And so dreadful was the terror that prevailed, that the survivor deemed them blessed who had already perished, and were consequently at rest ; while those under torture in the prisons pronounced the unburied happy in comparison with themselves. Every human ordinance was trampled under foot ; every Divine injunction laughed at ; and they scoffed at the oracles of the prophets as the fables of mountebanks. And yet did these in their predictions speak much of virtue and of vice, by contravening which the Zealots brought down on their country the

fulfilment of their prophetic denunciations. For there was an ancient tradition among men that "then would the city be taken, and the sanctuary burned to the ground, by right of war, when a sedition should burst forth, in which native hands should defile God's hallowed precincts." These predictions the Zealots did not disbelieve; yet did they lend themselves as instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAPTER VII.

1. JOHN, already affecting supreme power, disdained to accept the honours paid to his equals, and, gradually gathering round him a party of the more abandoned, haughtily withdrew from the coalition. Refusing obedience, on all occasions, to the resolves of his associates, and imperiously asserting his own, he was evidently aspiring to despotic rule. Some yielded to him through fear, others from affection; for he well knew how to employ deceit and artifice in conciliating regard; and not a few there were who thought it for their safety, that the blame of their daring deeds should be ascribed to one rather than to many. His energy both of body and mind, moreover, attracted numerous adherents. A large section, however, of the opposing faction, with whom envy predominated, deserted him, ill-brooking subjection to their former equal: but the greater part were influenced by dread of monarchical sway. For, once possessed of supreme power, they could not hope easily to subvert his authority; and he would have a pretext against themselves in their opposition to his advancement. Each therefore preferred enduring any suffering attendant on war, rather than, in a voluntary servitude, to perish as slaves.

From these causes the sedition split into two factions; and John, despite his adversaries, ruled with sovereign power. On either side every post was strictly guarded; though they seldom, if ever, appealed to the sword. They assailed the populace, however, and vied with each other in carrying off the larger booty. But, while the city was thus agitated by the three greatest of evils, war, tyranny, and sedition, in the eyes of the populace war was comparatively the mildest. Accordingly, fleeing from their countrymen, they took refuge with aliens, and solicited from Romans that safety which they despaired of among their own kindred.



MASADA
NORTHERN FACE

1917. J. M. H. B. 100



2. But, to consummate its ruin, a fourth misfortune was now inflicted upon the nation. Not far from Jerusalem was a fortress of very great strength called Masada, erected by our ancient kings as a repository for their wealth during the vicissitudes of war, and as a place of safety for their persons. Of this the Sikars, as they were called, had taken possession some time before; and had hitherto confined themselves to marauding expeditions through the adjacent districts, with the sole design of procuring supplies; for they were restrained by fear from further pillage: but, when they heard that the Roman army was lying inactive, and that in Jerusalem the Jews were distracted by sedition and private tyranny, they essayed more daring enterprises. Accordingly, at the feast of unleavened bread—which the Jews celebrate in commemoration of their exodus from Egyptian bondage, when allowed to depart for their paternal land—they came down by night, undiscovered by any who might have obstructed their progress, and attacked a small town called Engaddi.

Those of its inhabitants who might have offered resistance, were dispersed and driven out of the town before they could seize their arms and assemble; and those unable to fly, women and children, amounting to upwards of seven hundred, were put to the sword. They then rifled the houses, and, seizing upon the ripened crops, carried them off to Masada. They moreover plundered all the villages around the fortress, and laid waste the whole country; while multitudes of dissolute characters flocked to them daily from every quarter. The other districts of Judæa also now began to be thrown into disorder by predatory bands, which had hitherto remained quiet. As in the body, when the nobler parts are in a state of inflammation, all the members participate in the disorder, so, from the sedition and disturbance in the capital, the ill-disposed in the country fearlessly availed themselves of the opportunity for rapine; and, after severally destroying their native villages, each party retired into the desert. Having assembled in considerable force—too few, indeed, for an army, but too many for a mere band of freebooters—they bound themselves by oath, and separated into parties, assailing temples and cities. It occasionally happened, however, that they were roughly handled, when those whom they attacked were prepared, as in war, to receive them; but they anticipated the necessity of defence by decamping as robbers with their prey. There was, in fact, no part of Judæa that did not share in the ruin of the capital.

3. With these occurrences Vespasian was made acquainted by the deserters. For, although the insurgents guarded every outlet, and slew all that approached them, there were some, notwithstanding,

who eluded their vigilance, and, fleeing to the Romans, urged the general to succour the city, and rescue the remnant of its inhabitants: for, owing to their friendly disposition towards the Romans, many had been slain, and the survivors were in peril. Vespasian, who already pitied their calamities, broke up his encampment, apparently with the design of investing Jerusalem, but, in reality, to deliver it from siege. It was necessary previously to reduce what remained in his way, that no external impediment might interfere with his operations.

Accordingly, he marched on Gadara, the capital of *Peræa*, a place of some strength, which he entered on the fourth of the month *Dystrus*; for many of the residents were wealthy, and the leading men, influenced by a desire of peace, and a regard for their property, had, without the knowledge of the insurgents, sent a deputation to him on the subject of a surrender. Of this procedure the opposite party were ignorant, until they discovered it by the approach of Vespasian. Despairing of being able to retain the city, from their inferiority in point of numbers to their opponents within the walls, and seeing the Romans at a short distance from the city, they determined upon flight, but not without shedding blood, and exacting punishment from those who were the causes of the measure. With this view, they seized *Dolesus*, who was not only the first in station and family in the town, but was moreover looked upon as the originator of the deputation; and having put him to death, and through excess of rage mangled his body, they fled from the city. The Roman army being now at hand, the *Gadarenes* welcomed Vespasian with acclamations, and received from him a pledge of protection, together with a garrison of horse and foot, to secure them against the attacks of the fugitives; for they had demolished their fortifications without instructions from the Romans, in order that their want of power to make war, even if they wished, might be a guarantee for their love of peace.

4. Vespasian now detached *Placidus*, with five hundred horse, and three thousand foot, against those who had fled from Gadara, while he himself, with the remainder of his army, returned to *Cæsarea*. As soon as the fugitives discovered that they were closely pursued by the cavalry, before they came to an engagement, they shut themselves up in a village, called *Bethennabrin*. Here they found no small number of young men, and, arming some with their own consent, and some by force, they rushed at random upon the troops of *Placidus*. The Romans fell back a little on the first onset, artfully designing to entice them to a greater distance from the ramparts; and, having drawn them to a suitable spot, they rode round them and shot at

them with darts. Those who fled the cavalry intercepted, while the infantry made easy havoc of the entangled masses. After making a mere show of resistance, the Jews were cut to pieces; for, attacking the serried ranks of the Romans, walled in, as it were, by their armour, they found no play for their missiles, nor could they by any effort break the lines. They were accordingly transfixed by the weapons of their opponents, rushing like wild beasts upon the swords directed at them. Thus they perished, some struck down face to face with the enemy, others in disordered flight before the cavalry.

5. Placidus, careful to intercept their retreat to the village, kept his horse in constant motion on that quarter; then, turning upon them and employing his missiles, he slew those who came near him with a steady aim; while those at a greater distance were driven back by terror, until the most courageous, forcibly cutting a way through their foes, fled toward the ramparts. The sentries were in doubt what they should do; for they could not endure to shut out the Gadarenes, on account of their own townsmen; and if they admitted them, they expected to share in their destruction. And such, indeed, was the result; for as they were crushed together at the wall, the Roman cavalry were within a little of entering with them; but, the guards having succeeded in shutting the gates, Placidus attacked the town, and, continuing the assault with vigour until evening, became master of the ramparts, and of those within the village. The helpless were slaughtered in multitudes, and, those who were more able having fled, the troops rifled the houses, and reduced the village to ashes.

The fugitives, meanwhile, created great excitement through the country, and by exaggerating their calamities, and stating that the Roman army was advancing in full force, inspired terror on all sides. Accordingly, the whole population fled to Jericho, where, from the strength of its defences, and from its numerous inhabitants, they cherished a last hope of safety. Placidus, relying upon his cavalry, and encouraged by his former successes, pursued them as far as the Jordan, putting all, as he overtook them, to the sword. Having driven the whole multitude to the river, where they were stopped by the stream, which, swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable, he drew up his forces in line opposite to them. Necessity goaded them to battle, as no room for flight was left: and extending themselves as much as possible along the banks, they received the missiles and the charges of the cavalry, whereby many were wounded and driven into the current. Fifteen thousand fell by the hands of the enemy, while the number of those who were reluctantly compelled to throw themselves into the Jordan was incalculable. About two thousand two

hundred were captured, together with an immense booty of asses and sheep, camels and oxen.

6. Although inferior to none which the Jews had yet sustained, this discomfiture was even greater in appearance than reality; for not only was the whole country through which their flight had lain strewed with carnage, and the Jordan rendered impassable by reason of the dead, but the lake Asphaltitis, also, was filled with bodies, of which vast numbers had been carried down into it by the river. Placidus, following up his good fortune, hastened to attack the smaller towns and villages around; and making himself master of Abila, Julias, Besimoth, and all as far as the lake Asphaltitis, he located in each a convenient body of the deserters; then, embarking his troops in light vessels, he destroyed those who had taken refuge on the lake. And thus the whole of Peræa, as far as Machærus, either surrendered, or was reduced.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. MEANWHILE, tidings arrived of the disturbances which had broken out in Gaul, and that Vindex, with the chiefs in that country, had revolted from Nero, of which more detailed accounts have been elsewhere furnished. Vespasian, who already foresaw the civil dissensions which threatened to break out, and the danger to the empire at large, and was persuaded that, under these circumstances, it would relieve the apprehensions of Italy, if affairs were once settled in the East, was further stimulated by this intelligence to prosecute the war with vigour. Accordingly, having employed himself, while the winter lasted, in securing with garrisons the villages and smaller towns which he had reduced, confiding the former to decurions, the latter to centurions, and having, also, rebuilt many places which had been destroyed, he moved in the beginning of spring, with the greater part of his army, from Cæsarea to Antipatris. After two days spent in establishing order in the town, on the third he advanced, wasting all the places around with fire and sword. Having reduced the territory of Thamna, he marched on Lydda and Jamnia; and both of them having been before subdued, he located in them a competent number of residents out of those who had surrendered, and pursued his route to Ammaus. Having seized on their approaches to the metropolis, he fortified a camp, and leaving the fifth legion in the town, moved forward with his remaining force to the territory of Bethleptepha. Having devastated with fire this and the neighbouring

district, together with the parts of Idumæa round about, he fortified castles in convenient situations; and having taken two villages in the very heart of Idumæa—Betaris and Caphartoba, he put above ten thousand of the inhabitants to the sword, and enslaved upwards of a thousand; and then driving out the remainder, stationed there a large division of his own troops, who overran and laid waste the whole of the mountainous district. He then returned with the rest of his army to Ammaus, and thence, through Samaria, and by Neapolis, called Mabortha by the people of the country, he descended to Corca, where he encamped on the second day of the month Dæsius. On the day following, he reached Jericho, where he was joined by Trajan, one of his generals, with the force he had brought from Peræa, all beyond the Jordan being now reduced.

2. Anticipating their arrival, the mass of the population had made their escape from Jericho into the mountainous range which lies over against Jerusalem, though a considerable number remained behind, who were put to the sword. The Romans, in consequence, found the city deserted. Jericho is seated in a plain, but hanging over it is a naked and barren mountain of great length, extending northward to the territory of Scythopolis, and towards the south as far as the region of Sodom, and the extremities of the lake Asphaltitis. It is rugged throughout, and by reason of its sterility uninhabitable. Opposite to this, in the vicinity of the Jordan, runs a second chain of mountains, which, beginning at Julias on the north, stretches parallel to the former in a southern direction, as far as Somorrhæ, which borders upon Petra in Arabia. In this ridge is also the Iron Mountain, as it is called, which stretches to the region of Moab. The country included within these two ranges of hills is called the Great Plain, and reaches from the village of Ginnabrin to the lake Asphaltitis. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty. It is intersected by the Jordan, and embraces the lake Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias. These lakes differ in their nature; the former being salt and unfavourable to life, the latter sweet and prolific. In the summer season this plain is burnt up, and through the excessive drought the surrounding atmosphere becomes unwholesome; for it is throughout destitute of water, if we except the Jordan; and hence, also, it happens that the palm-groves on the banks of that river are more flourishing and productive than those at a distance.

3. In the immediate vicinity of Jericho, however, is a copious spring of great virtue in irrigation. It bursts forth near the ancient town, the first in the land of the Canaanites which yielded to the arms of Joshua, the son of Nun, general of the Hebrews.

A tradition prevails, that this fountain originally blighted not only the fruits of the earth and of trees, but the offspring of women also; and that to everything without exception it was fraught with disease and death, until it was healed and rendered most salubrious and fertilizing by the prophet Elisha, disciple and successor of Elijah. Having been the guest of the people of Jericho, and entertained by them with extreme hospitality, he requited their kindness by conferring a lasting favour on them and their country. Repairing to the fountain, he threw into the current an earthen vessel filled with salt, and then lifting up his hand aright to heaven, as he poured a soothing libation into the spring, he prayed that the fountain might soften its current, and open sweeter veins; and that God would blend with its waters more genial airs, granting the inhabitants withal an abundance of fruits, and a succession of children, with a never-failing supply of water conducive to their production, so long as they continued upright. By these supplications, offered up after the performance of many ceremonies according to ritual, he changed the properties of the spring, and the water, which had before been to them a cause of barrenness and famine, became thenceforward a source of fecundity and teeming profusion. Such in fact are its powers of irrigation, that, if it but touch the earth, it is more salubrious than waters which remain to saturation. Wherefore also, while the benefit derived from other fountains is small though they make a more lavish use of them, the return from this small one is ample. Indeed it irrigates a more extensive tract than all the rest, flowing through a plain seventy furlongs in length and twenty in breadth, carrying fertility to many a delightful garden, and watering various species of palm, differing alike in flavour and in medicinal properties. Of these the richer descriptions, when pressed, emit a profusion of honey, scarcely inferior to the other, of which the district yields an ample supply. Here is also found the balm of Gilead, the most precious of all its productions; the cyprus likewise, and the myrobalanus; so that he would not err who should pronounce this a divine spot, wherein grows an abundance of the rarest and choicest plants. For as regards its other produce, there is scarcely a clime to be found throughout the habitable globe comparable to this, so manifold are the returns from the seed sown: a circumstance attributable, in my opinion, to the warmth of the air, and to the fertilizing properties of the water; the one calling forth and expanding the shoots, while the moisture roots the plant more firmly, and supplies the vitality which it has in summer, when the surrounding country is so parched up, as almost to prevent any one from going near it. The water if

drawn before sunrise, and then exposed to the air, becomes extremely cold, assuming a character the reverse of the surrounding atmosphere; but in winter, on the other hand, it is tepid, and most genial for bathers. So mild moreover is the climate, that the inhabitants are dressed in linen, when the other parts of Judæa are covered with snow. It is distant from Jerusalem a hundred and fifty furlongs, and from the Jordan sixty. The country from thence to Jerusalem is desert and rocky; to the Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis, it is lower indeed, but equally dreary and barren. Of Jericho, thus highly favoured, sufficient has been said.

4. The natural peculiarities of the lake Asphaltitis also merit attention. Its waters, as I have stated, are bitter and unfavourable to life; but from their buoyancy they bear up even the heaviest substances thrown into them; and it is difficult to dive to the bottom, even with an effort. With a view to ascertain this fact, Vespasian, on visiting the lake, ordered several persons who were unable to swim to be plunged in to the bottom with their hands tied behind them; and the result was that all floated to the surface, as if impelled upwards by the agency of air. There occurs in it also a remarkable change of colour. Three times every day it alters its appearance, and throws back a varied reflection according to the inclination of the solar rays. It casts up, moreover, in many parts, black masses of bitumen, which float on its surface, resembling, both in size and figure, headless bulls. These the labourers of the lake approach, and catching hold of the lumps, draw them into their boats. When these are filled, however, it is by no means easy to divide the viscid matter, which from its tenacity clings to the boat, until it is dissolved by those particular animal secretions to which alone it yields. It is useful not only for caulking ships, but also for healing the human frame; and it is accordingly an ingredient in various medicines.

This lake is in length five hundred and eighty furlongs, measured in a line which extends towards Zoar in Arabia, and in breadth one hundred and fifty. Adjacent to it is the land of Sodom, in ancient times a favoured district, renowned for its productions, and the wealth of its cities; but now totally burnt up. It is said that, owing to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was consumed by lightning; and accordingly vestiges of the divine fire, and some faint remains of five cities, are still discernible. There may be seen, also, ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their appearance would be supposed edible; but, on being plucked with the hand, they resolve into smoke and dust. Such credibility does the tradition respecting the land of Sodom derive from ocular evidence.

CHAPTER IX.

1. VESPASIAN, with a view to invest Jerusalem on all sides, formed encampments at Jericho and Adida, placing in each a garrison composed of Romans and auxiliaries. He moreover detached Lucius Annius to Gerasa, at the head of a squadron of horse and a large body of infantry. Annius, having carried the city on the first assault, put to the sword a thousand of the youth, who had not effected their escape, enslaved their families, and permitted his soldiers to plunder their property. He then set fire to their habitations, and advanced against the villages around. The vigorous fled; the more feeble perished; everything left behind was consigned to the flames; and the war, having now embraced the whole of the mountainous and champaign country, all egress from Jerusalem was prevented. For those who wished to desert were closely watched by the Zealots; while those who did not yet favour the Romans were kept in check by the army, which hemmed in the city on all sides.

2. While Vespasian, who had now returned to Cæsarea, was preparing to march in full force against Jerusalem itself, tidings reached him of the violent death of Nero, after a reign of thirteen years and eight days. To relate in what manner that prince wantonly abused his authority, committing the administration to the most profligate of men, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, the very refuse even of freedmen; and how, in the conspiracy they formed against him, he was abandoned by all his guards; of his flight with four of his faithful attendants to the suburbs, where he fell by his own hand; and of the punishment which ere long overtook those who had brought about his destruction—is no part of my present purpose. Nor yet is it my intention to enter into a detail of the war in Gaul, and its issue: of the elevation of Galba to the throne, and his consequent return to Rome from Spain: of the charge of meanness brought against him by the military, and of the death treacherously dealt to him in the midst of the Roman forum: of Otho's advancement to the imperial dignity; of his expedition against the generals of Vitellius, and his overthrow: of the commotions afterwards under Vitellius; of the battle in the capitol; and of the destruction of Vitellius and his German legions by Antonius Primus and Mucianus, and the consequent suppression of the civil war. Of all these events I have declined giving a circumstantial account, as they are generally known,

and have been described by various Greek and Roman authors. To keep up the connexion of events, however, and to avoid a chasm in my narrative, I have summarily noticed each.

Vespasian, therefore, for the present deferred his expedition against Jerusalem, waiting anxiously to see on whom the empire would devolve upon the death of Nero; and afterwards, when he learned that Galba was emperor, he would not advance until instructions had been forwarded from him also on the subject of the war. He despatched his son Titus, however, to salute him, and receive his commands in reference to the Jews. For the same purpose, king Agrippa likewise embarked with Titus; but while they were sailing round in long galleys through Achaia, (for it was the winter season,) Galba met a violent death after a reign of seven months and as many days; Otho succeeding to the throne, and assuming the reins of government. Agrippa, nothing deterred by the change, resolved on proceeding to Rome; while Titus, under a divine impulse, taking ship from Greece for Syria, repaired with haste to join his father at Cæsarea. Being thus in suspense as to affairs at large, as well they might be, when the Roman empire was in such a state of fluctuation, they disregarded the invasion of Judæa, deeming it unseasonable to attack a foreign country, while filled with apprehensions for their own.

3. Meanwhile another war broke out against Jerusalem, occasioned by one Simon, son of Gioras, a young man, a Gerasene by birth, less artful than John, who was now in possession of the city, but his superior in bodily strength and daring: qualities which had led Ananus the high priest to eject him from the territory of Acrabatene, which he once held. Thus expelled, he betook himself to the brigands who had seized on Masada. At first, regarded by them with suspicion, he was allowed, with the women who accompanied him, access only to the lower part of the fortress; they themselves occupying the upper. But subsequently, from congeniality of disposition, and from his being apparently a person in whom they could confide, he was permitted to accompany them in their marauding expeditions, and joined them in laying waste the country around Masada. He could not, however, prevail on them to attempt greater things; for, having become familiarized with the fortress, they were afraid to venture far from their den, so to speak; while he, aiming at despotic power, and cherishing lofty projects, on hearing of the death of Ananus, withdrew to the mountainous district; where, proclaiming freedom to slaves, and rewards to the free, he gathered the miscreants from all quarters around him.

4. Being now at the head of a strong force, he overran the villages

which lay in the mountain-district; and, as he gained continual accessions to his numbers, he was emboldened to descend into the low-lands. Becoming at length formidable to the towns, many men of rank, led away by his strength, and the free course of his successful enterprises, were so infatuated as to join him: and it was no longer an army of slaves only and brigands, but the loyal obedience, as to a king, of a large body of the people. He now overran the Aera-batene territory, and the country as far as the greater Idumæa. At a village called Nain, he threw up a wall, and used the place as a fortress for his security; and having found a great number of caves ready prepared, and enlarged many others, in the valley called Pharan, he employed them as repositories of treasures, and receptacles of plunder. There also he laid up the corn obtained by rapine, and the greater part of his troops took up their abode in them; and it was evident that he was disciplining his force, and making his preparations, for the purpose of attacking Jerusalem.

5. The Zealots, in consequence, alarmed at his design, and wishing to anticipate one who was gathering strength to their prejudice, went out with their main body under arms. Simon met them, and giving them battle, slew great numbers, and chased the remainder into the city. From a want of confidence in his troops, however, he was deterred from assailing the walls; and he purposed first to reduce Idumæa, towards the confines of which he now directed his march, at the head of twenty thousand armed men. The chiefs of the Idumæans, with all despatch, assembled from the country their most effective men, to the number of about twenty-five thousand, leaving the mass of the population to protect their property against the inroads of the Sikars of Masada, and met Simon at the frontiers.

Here he gave them battle; and after maintaining the action during the whole day, he left the field, neither conquering nor conquered. He then returned to Nain, and the Idumæans disbanded to their homes. Not long after, however, Simon returned with a larger force, and again broke into their country, and encamping at a village called Thecoa, despatched Eleazar, one of his associates, to the garrison of Herodium, which was not far distant, to persuade them to deliver up that fortress. The sentinels, ignorant of the object of his visit, admitted him without hesitation; but the moment he uttered a word about a surrender, they rushed on him with drawn swords, on which, finding escape impracticable, he threw himself from the ramparts into the ravine below, and was killed upon the spot. The Idumæans, now much alarmed at Simon's strength, deemed it advisable to reconnoitre his army before they hazarded an engagement.



POOL AT FEBRON.



6. For this purpose, James, one of the generals, readily proffered his services, while, in his heart, he meditated treachery. He accordingly left Alurus, the village in which the Idumæan forces were at the time congregated, and repaired to Simon. He entered into a compact, first for the betrayal of his native place, on receiving, upon oath, an assurance that he should always hold a post of honour; and he then pledged himself to assist, likewise, in the subjugation of the whole of Idumæa. Being, in consequence, hospitably entertained by Simon, and buoyed up with magnificent promises, he, on returning to his own party, commenced by greatly exaggerating the numbers of the enemy; and then, by courteous attention to the officers, and to the soldiers in general, when assembled in groups, he instigated them to receive Simon, and to surrender to him, without a struggle, the entire management of affairs. While this was going forward, he sent a message to Simon, inviting him to advance, and promising to disperse the Idumæans—a promise which he fulfilled; for, on the approach of the army, he was the first to spring upon his horse and take to flight, followed by the dupes of his intrigues. The whole multitude were seized with a panic, and, before a blow was struck, deserted their ranks, and retired severally to their homes.

7. Simon, having thus, beyond expectation, penetrated into Idumæa without bloodshed, first of all, by a sudden attack, made himself master of the city of Hebron, where he possessed himself of a vast booty, exclusive of the large supplies of corn which he seized. If we are to credit the inhabitants, Hebron is not only a town of greater antiquity than any in that country, but even than Memphis in Egypt, its years being computed at two thousand three hundred. They relate that Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, here fixed his abode after his departure from Mesopotamia, and that from hence his posterity went down into Egypt. Their monuments are still shown in that town, of the most beautiful marble, and of exquisite workmanship. At the distance of six furlongs, is pointed out an immense turpentine-tree, which, if tradition is to be believed, has continued there from the creation until the present time.

Advancing from this point, Simon marched through the whole of Idumæa, ravaging not only the towns and villages, but also laying waste the entire country; for, exclusive of his regular forces, he had forty thousand followers, so that his supplies were insufficient for such a multitude. Besides his wants, his cruelty, also, and his spleen against the nation, led him to visit Idumæa with the greater devastation. As the woods in the track of the locusts may be seen utterly despoiled of their foliage, so in the rear of Simon's army there

remained nothing but a desert. Some of the places they burned; others they rased to the ground; and every vegetable production throughout the country totally disappeared, being either trampled down or eaten; and their march rendered the arable harder than the barren ground. In a word, of all thus destroyed, not even a trace was left of its ever having existed.

8. These occurrences stimulated the Zealots afresh; and though afraid to meet Simon in open warfare, they placed ambushes in the passes, and captured his wife, with a numerous retinue of attendants; on which, as if Simon himself had been made prisoner, they returned exulting to the city, in the full expectation that he would lay down his arms without any more ado, and become a suppliant for his consort. Her seizure, however, roused not his sensibility, but his indignation; and, advancing to the walls of Jerusalem, like a wild beast wounded, and unable to avenge himself on his assailants, he vented his fury on all he met with.

Accordingly, as many as ventured outside the gates for herbs or fuel, unarmed and old, he seized, tortured, and put to death, scarcely refraining, in the excess of his rage, from even gnawing their dead bodies. Many of them, moreover, he sent into the city with their hands cut off, with the design at once of striking terror into his foes, and of exciting the people to rise against the authors of these sufferings. He enjoined them, likewise, to say that Simon swore by God, who presides over all, that, unless they restored his wife to him without delay, he would break down the wall, and inflict similar punishment on every soul within it, sparing neither young nor old, nor distinguishing the guilty from the innocent. These menaces so terrified, not only the people, but even the Zealots, that they sent his wife back to him; when, somewhat soothed, he paused in his career of slaughter.

9. Not alone, however, in Judæa did sedition and civil war prevail, but also in Italy; for Galba had been murdered in the middle of the Roman forum, and Otho, being proclaimed emperor, was engaged in a war against Vitellius, who now aspired to the throne, having been chosen by the legions in Germany. He gave battle at Bedriacum, in [Cisalpine] Gaul, to Valens and Cæcinna, the generals of Vitellius. On the first day Otho had the advantage; on the second, the troops of Vitellius. The slaughter being great, Otho, on hearing at Brixellum of the defeat, put an end to his own existence, after having administered the government three months and two days. His army went over to the generals of Vitellius, who was now marching on Rome in person, with his entire force.

Vespasian, meantime, having broken up from Cæsarea on the fifth of the month Dæsius, advanced against those places in Judæa which had not yet submitted to his arms. Ascending into the mountainous district, he subdued two provinces, called the Gophnitic, and the Acrabatenic. He next made himself master of the small towns of Bethela and Ephraim. Into these he threw garrisons, and then advanced with his cavalry up to the walls of Jerusalem, destroying many who fell in his way, and enslaving great numbers. Cerealius, one of his generals, at the head of a detachment of horse and foot, laid waste what was called the upper Idumæa, and attacking Caphethra, erroneously styled a town, he carried it on the first assault, and burned it to the ground. He then turned his arms against another town, by name Capharabin, and as it was defended by a wall of great strength, he laid siege to it; but while he was anticipating a long delay before it, the inhabitants suddenly opened their gates, and approaching him as suppliants, surrendered at discretion. Having reduced these, Cerealius advanced on Hebron, another city and of great antiquity. It lies, as I have said, in the mountain-district, not far from Jerusalem. Having forced the approaches, he put to the sword all that he found there, young and old, and consigned the place to the flames. The various fortresses being now subdued, with the exception of Herodium, Masada, and Machærus, which were held by the brigands, Jerusalem became henceforth the mark which the Romans had in view.

10. Simon, having recovered his wife from the Zealots, turned back on the relics of Idumæa, and harassing the nation in all quarters, compelled many to flee to Jerusalem. He pursued them to the city, and again encircling the wall, whomsoever he took of the labourers coming in in that direction, he put to death. Thus to the people was Simon without more formidable than the Romans, and the Zealots within more oppressive than either. Meanwhile, mischievous devices and audacity brought destruction on the Galilæan army. They had raised John to power, and, requiting them by virtue of the authority which he had acquired, he permitted them to follow their several inclinations. Their avidity for plunder accordingly became insatiable; and the ransack of the dwellings of the opulent, the murder of men, and the violation of women, they looked upon as sport. Their spoils, the purchase of blood, they eagerly devoured, and from mere satiety indulged without scruple in infamous lusts. They braided their hair, attired themselves in female apparel, smeared themselves with ointments, and painted their eyes to heighten their effect; and not only did they imitate the dress, but also the passions of women, and,

in excess of lasciviousness, devised unlawful pleasures, rolling through the city, as in a brothel, defiling it from end to end with impure deeds. But, though they assumed the countenances of women, murder dyed their hands. Approaching with affected delicacy of gait, they would suddenly transform themselves into warriors, and, drawing their swords from under their richly dyed cloaks, transfix whomsoever they met. Those who were flying from John fell in with Simon, the more sanguinary of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant inside the walls, was slain by the other before the gates. Thus, from those who wished to desert to the Romans, was every avenue of flight cut off.

11. The army now rose in insurrection against John. The Idumæan portion of it, detaching themselves from the rest, made an attack upon the tyrant, as well from envy of his power, as from hatred of his cruelty. An engagement taking place, they slew many of the Zealots, and drove the remainder into the palace built by Grapte, a relative of Izates, king of Adiabene. Rushing in along with them, the Idumæans chased them from thence into the temple, and proceeded to the plunder of John's treasures; he having fixed his residence in the palace just mentioned, and there deposited the spoils of his tyranny. In the meantime, the multitude of Zealots, dispersed throughout the city, drew together to those who had retreated into the temple, and John prepared to lead them against the people and the Idumæans. The latter, who were the better soldiers, were not so much afraid of their attack as of the effects of their desperation, lest, stealing in from the temple by night, they should kill them, and burn the city.

Assembling, therefore, with the chief priests, they deliberated on the best mode of securing themselves against the attack. But God turned their counsels into evil, and they devised for their safety a remedy more grievous than destruction. Accordingly, to work the overthrow of John, they determined to admit Simon, and, with entreaties for his compliance, to introduce over themselves a second tyrant. Their resolution was carried into effect; and the high priest Matthias was deputed to implore Simon, whom they had so much dreaded, to enter the city. In this request, those of Jerusalem who had fled from the Zealots united, yearning after their homes and property. Haughtily consenting to be their master, he made his entry as one who was to rescue the city from the Zealots, greeted with acclamations by the people as their saviour and guardian. But as soon as he had entered with his force, his sole care was to secure his own authority: and he considered those who had invited him not

less his enemies than the faction against whom his aid had been solicited.

12. Thus did Simon, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, become master of Jerusalem. John and the Zealots, being now debarred all egress from the temple, and having lost what they possessed in the city—for Simon, and his party, immediately plundered their property—began to doubt as to their safety. Simon, in conjunction with the people, soon after made an attack on the temple; the Zealots, meanwhile, posting themselves on the colonnades and battlements, and defending themselves against their assailants. Many fell on the side of Simon, and many were borne off wounded; for the Zealots could throw their missiles easily from higher ground, and with unerring aim. Besides the advantage they had from their position, they also erected four very large towers, that they might hurl their weapons from a greater elevation; one at the north-east corner, a second above the Xystus, the third at another corner, opposite the lower town, and the last was constructed over the top of the Pastophoria. Here it was the custom for one of the priests to take his stand and give notice, by sound of trumpet, in the afternoon, of the approach, and again, at eventide, of the close, of every seventh day, making known to the people when to rest, and when to resume labour. On these towers they disposed scorpions and balistas, with the archers and slingers. Thereupon Simon's attacks on the temple became more feeble, as the greater part of his men grew weary of the work, though, from having the superiority in point of numbers, he maintained his ground. The missiles from the engines, however, taking a longer range, killed many of the combatants.

CHAPTER X.

1. ABOUT the very same time Rome, also, was visited with heavy calamities. Vitellius had arrived from Germany with his troops, dragging along with him a vast multitude besides. Not having room enough in the quarters assigned to the troops, he made the whole of Rome a camp, and filled every house with armed men. These, beholding with unaccustomed eyes the riches of the Romans, and encompassed on every side with the glitter of gold and silver, with difficulty restrained their cupidity, and withheld themselves from plunder, and

from destroying all that opposed them. Such was the situation of affairs in Italy.

2. Vespasian, having reduced every spot in the vicinity of Jerusalem, returned to Cæsarea, where he heard of the disturbances in Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This intelligence, though he knew as well how to obey as how to command, moved his indignation, and he disdained to own as master one who so madly raged against the empire, as though it were without a protector; and so poignant was his grief, that he was unable to bear up under the torture, and, while his own country was being laid waste, find leisure for other wars. But, in proportion as anger stimulated him to vindicate her cause, so did the thought of the distance restrain him: for, before he could cross into Italy, capricious fortune might in a thousand ways anticipate him, especially as he must sail in the winter season; and this reflection repressed his bursting resentment.

3. The generals and the soldiers assembling in parties, already openly canvassed a revolution. "The soldiers in Rome," they indignantly exclaimed, "who lived in luxury, and could not bear to hear even a rumour of war, elected whom they chose to the throne, and created emperors in hope of lucre; whilst they themselves, who had undergone so many toils, and were growing old beneath their helmets, gave away their privilege to others, and that, too, when they had among themselves one more worthy of the sceptre. What more just return could they ever render him for the kindness he had shown them, if they allowed this opportunity to escape? Vespasian's claim to the empire as far exceeded that of Vitellius, as they were superior to those who had elevated him. For, surely, they had encountered wars no less perilous than the legions of Germany: nor were they inferior in arms to those who were conducting that tyrant from thence. There would be no necessity for a contest; for neither the senate, nor the Roman people, would endure the lasciviousness of Vitellius, in preference to Vespasian's chastity, nor choose a most inhuman tyrant rather than a beneficent ruler—a childless prince, rather than a father; since the best security for peace lies in the natural advantages of princes. Were empire, then, due to the experience of age, they had Vespasian; if to vigour of youth, Titus: for they would thus reap the benefit of their respective ages. Not only would they themselves impart present strength to the object of their choice, as they could already muster three legions, and the auxiliaries from the kings; but he would, moreover, be supported by all in the east, and by those in Europe who were removed beyond the fear of Vitellius, as well as by their allies in Italy, Vespasian's

brother, and his younger son—of whom the one would draw over many young men of rank, while the other had actually been entrusted with the protection of the city—no small advantage in an attempt on the throne. In a word, should they themselves delay, the senate would probably elect the very man whom the soldiers, the joint guardians of the state, treated with neglect.”

4. Such was the language held by the military in their circles. They next assembled together, and animating one another, proclaimed Vespasian emperor, and importuned him to save the endangered empire. That general had long felt solicitude as to the position of affairs, but yet had entertained no thoughts of mounting the throne himself; for, though conscious that his achievements gave him a legitimate claim, he preferred the security of private life to the perils of an exalted station. But on his declining, the officers pressed him with the greater urgency, and the soldiers, crowding round with drawn swords, threatened him with death, if he refused to live with honour. After forcibly urging upon their attention many considerations which led him to refuse the empire, at length, unable to dissuade them, he yielded to their call.

5. Mucianus and the other generals now urging him to act as emperor, and the rest of the army demanding to be led against all opponents, he first turned his mind to the affairs of Alexandria, aware that Egypt was the most important quarter of the empire, in consequence of its vast supply of corn. Were he master of this, he hoped to drive Vitellius from the throne, even should he offer resistance, as the populace of Rome would not submit to be starved. He was besides desirous of drawing over the two legions in Alexandria; while he purposed at the same time to hold that country as a defence against the dubious turns of fortune.

Egypt, difficult of access by land, is destitute of any safe harbour on its coasts. It is protected on the west by the arid deserts of Libya; on the south side, which separates it from Æthiopia, by Syene, and the innavigable cataracts of the Nile: on the east it spreads out to the Red Sea, as far as Coptus; while the land toward Syria, and what is called the Egyptian Sea, which is totally devoid of havens, form its northern barrier. Thus is Egypt secured on all sides. Its length from Pelusium to Syene is two thousand furlongs; and the navigation from Plinthine to Pelusium three thousand six hundred. The Nile is navigable up to the city called Elephantine, beyond which the cataracts already mentioned prevent further advance. The port of Alexandria is difficult of access to ships even in time of peace (calms), the entrance being narrow, and bent from a direct

course by rocks under water. It is defended on the left by artificial piers. On the right in front lies the island called Pharos, upon which has been erected a huge tower, emitting a light visible to mariners making for the port at a distance of three hundred furlongs, to warn them to anchor off the harbour during the night, owing to the difficulty of the navigation.

Around this little island have been constructed by human labour vast moles. The sea dashing against these, and breaking around the opposing bulwarks, renders the passage rough, and the ingress through the strait dangerous. The haven, however, is extremely safe within, and is thirty furlongs in extent. To this are brought whatever commodities the country may require for its own convenience, and thence the superfluities of native produce are distributed through every quarter of the world.

6. With good reason therefore was Vespasian anxious to obtain the ascendancy there, for the stability of the empire at large. He accordingly wrote immediately to Tiberius Alexander, who was then administering affairs in Egypt and Alexandria, informing him of the zeal of the army; and adding that, as he had been necessitated to sustain the weight of the empire, he adopted him as his confederate and coadjutor. Having read the letter in public, Alexander promptly called on the legions and the people to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian; a call with which they both gladly complied, knowing the worth of the man from the character of his command in their neighbourhood. Tiberius, having the concerns of the empire now entrusted to his charge, made all the necessary preparations for the emperor's arrival. Swifter than thought the rumour spread that he was emperor in the east; and every city kept festival, and offered up thanksgivings for the good news, and sacrifices for his welfare. The legions in Mysia and Pannonia, exasperated but just before by the audacity of Vitellius, with the greater cheerfulness swore allegiance to Vespasian.

Setting out from Cæsarea, he proceeded to Berytus, where he was waited upon by numerous embassies from Syria, as also from the other provinces, bringing crowns and congratulatory addresses from the several cities. At the same time arrived Mucianus also, president of the province, announcing the good-will of the people, and that the towns had severally taken the oath of fidelity.

7. Fortune everywhere seconding his wishes, and matters having for the most part combined in his favour, Vespasian was now led to think that he had not been advanced to the government without Divine interposition; and that some just destiny was bringing round

to him the control of the empire. He recalled to mind various prognostics—many having occurred to him in every quarter, fore-showing the empire—and among them the expressions of Josephus, who had ventured, even in the lifetime of Nero, to address him as emperor. He was much concerned that the man should be still a prisoner in his hands, and calling for Mucianus, together with his other officers and friends, he first of all reminded them of his gallantry, and how much trouble he had caused him at Jotapata. He then recurred to his predictions, which, at the moment, he had suspected to be the fabrications of fear; but which time and the event had proved to be divine. “It is disgraceful therefore,” he said, “that the man who foretold my elevation to the empire, and who was a minister of the voice of God, should still be in the condition of a captive, and endure a prisoner’s fate;” and having called for Josephus, he ordered him to be liberated. His officers, from this requital of a foreigner, were led to form high expectations for themselves.

Titus, who was present during this scene, remarked to his father, “that justice required, that, with the fetters, the reproach should also be removed from Josephus: for if, instead of loosing, we cut his chain, he will be as one who has never been bound at all.” This is done in the case of those who have been unjustly thrown into irons. Vespasian approving, one came forward and with an axe severed the chain. Josephus, having received his freedom as a recompense for what he had foretold, was now deemed deserving of credit as to future events.

CHAPTER XI.

1. VESPASIAN, having given answer to the embassies, and disposed of the prefectures with due attention to the claims of justice, and the merit of the several candidates, repaired to Antioch. Here deliberating as to what course he should pursue, he considered affairs in Rome of greater importance than a march to Alexandria, which he saw already firmly secured, whereas in the former all had been thrown into confusion by Vitellius. He accordingly despatched Mucianus into Italy, placing under his orders a large body of cavalry and infantry. That officer, fearing a voyage, as the winter season had now fairly set in, led his army by land through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the meantime Antonius Primus, accompanied by the third legion from Mœsia, where he was at the time in command, was also hastening to give battle to Vitellius; who sent Cæcinna Alienus, in whom he had great confidence on account of his victory over Otho, with a strong force to oppose him. Cæcinna advanced by rapid marches from Rome, and met Antonius near Cremona in [Cisalpine] Gaul, a town upon the frontiers of Italy; but on observing the numbers and discipline of the enemy, he was afraid to come to an engagement, and considering a retreat dangerous, he formed the design of going over to Antonius.

Accordingly assembling the centurions and tribunes under his command, he urged them to join his opponent, depreciating the resources of Vitellius, and extolling the strength of Vespasian. "With the one," he said, "was the name alone, with the other the power, of empire; and it were better for them to anticipate necessity, and do a gracious act, and, as they must be defeated by arms, to avert danger by sagacity. For Vespasian was able, without them, to acquire what he had not yet obtained; while Vitellius, even with their help, could not retain what he possessed."

3. By these and many such arguments Cæcinna prevailed with them, and he, with all his army, deserted to Antonius. On that very night, however, regret for the steps they had taken, and fear of him who had sent them, should he prove victorious, seized the soldiers; and drawing their swords, they rushed forward to kill Cæcinna, when their purpose would have been effected, had not the tribunes thrown themselves at their feet, and implored them to pause. They spared his life therefore, but binding the traitor, prepared to send him to Vitellius. Primus, hearing of this, instantly called up his men, and led them in arms against the revoltors; who, forming in order of battle, offered a short resistance; but being soon routed, they fled towards Cremona. Primus at the head of his cavalry, having cut off their entrance into the town, surrounded and slaughtered the greater part of them before the walls, and making his way in with the remainder, he allowed his soldiers to pillage the place. On this occasion many foreign merchants perished, and many of the inhabitants, with the entire army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thousand two hundred. Of the troops from Mœsia, Antonius lost four thousand five hundred. Having liberated Cæcinna, he sent him to acquaint Vespasian with these events. On his arrival he was courteously received by the emperor, who covered the disgrace of his perfidy with unexpected honours.

4. In Rome, meanwhile, Sabinus, who had resumed courage on

hearing of the approach of Antonius, assembled the cohorts of the night-guard, and during the night seized the Capitol. Soon after day-break he was joined by many men of distinction, as also by Domitian, his brother's son, on whom they greatly relied for the success of their enterprise. Vitellius, less concerned about Primus, was fired with rage against those who had revolted with Sabinus; and from his innate cruelty, thirsting for noble blood, he let loose upon the Capitol that division of his army which had accompanied him. Many a gallant exploit they performed, as did the party who fought from that sacred edifice. But at length the troops from Germany, who outnumbered their antagonists, made themselves masters of the hill. Domitian, with many Romans of rank, providentially escaped; the entire multitude besides were cut to pieces. Sabinus was brought to Vitellius, and executed. The soldiers, meanwhile, having plundered the temple of its offerings, consigned it to the flames. The day after, Antonius marched in at the head of his army: the adherents of Vitellius met him, and giving battle at three different points in the city, perished to a man.

Vitellius, drunk, and gorged to excess with the luxuries of the table, as frequently happens with men in desperate circumstances, issued from the palace; and being dragged through the crowd, and treated with every possible indignity, was put to death in the heart of Rome. He had administered the government eight months and five days; and had it so happened that his life had been prolonged, the empire, I am of opinion, would not have sufficed for his voluptuousness. Of the others who were slain, there were counted above fifty thousand. These events took place on the third of the month Apellæus.

The next day Mucianus, entering with his army, restrained the troops of Antonius from further slaughter; for searching the houses, they were still butchering great numbers both of the soldiers of Vitellius, and of the populace, as if attached to his party, rage allowing no leisure for exact discrimination. Mucianus then produced Domitian, whom he recommended to the multitude as governor, until the arrival of his father. The people, freed at length from apprehension, with glad acclaim hailed Vespasian emperor, and celebrated with a festival at once his establishment on the throne, and the overthrow of Vitellius.

5. On reaching Alexandria, Vespasian was greeted with these welcome tidings from Rome, and embassies of congratulation arrived from every quarter of the world, now his own. And though that city was inferior only to Rome in magnitude, it was found too

confined for the multitudes who crowded into it. The whole empire being now secured, and the Roman state saved beyond expectation, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained of Judæa. He himself, however, was anxious to set out for Rome as soon as the winter was over, and without loss of time settled affairs in Alexandria: despatching meanwhile his son Titus, with a select force, to reduce Jerusalem.

Titus, accordingly, proceeding by land as far as Nicopolis, distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria, there put his army on board long galleys, and advanced up the river, along the Mendesian prefecture, to the city of Thmuis. Here he disembarked, and pursuing his route, passed the night at a small town, called Tanis. His second station was Heracleopolis, and Pelusium his third. Here having halted for two days to refresh his army, on the third he passed through the mouths of Pelusium, and advancing one day's march through the desert, encamped at the temple of the Casian Jupiter, and on the ensuing day at Ostracine. This post he found destitute of water, which the inhabitants convey for their use from other places. He next rested at Rhinocorura, from whence he proceeded to his fourth station, Raphia, at which city Syria commences. At Gaza he formed his fifth encampment. He then advanced to Ascalon, whence he continued his march to Jamnia. Thence he proceeded to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cæsarea, having determined there to concentrate his forces.

THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK V.



ARGUMENT OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

1. Concerning the Movers of Sedition in Jerusalem.—2. The advance of Titus towards Jerusalem.—3. The revival of the factions within the city.—4. A description of Jerusalem.—5. A description of the Temple.—6. Concerning the Chiefs of the Factions—Simon and John ; Nicanor wounded by an arrow ; Titus provoked to press the siege.—7. After a great slaughter, the Romans take the first wall, and Titus makes his assaults upon the second wall.—Concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.—8. How the Romans twice got possession of the second wall.—9. Titus anew presses forward the siege, and sends Josephus to talk with his countrymen, persuading them to peace.—10. Multitudes of the Jews endeavour to desert to the Romans—the sufferings of the besieged from famine.—11. Many Jews crucified before the walls.—Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes (a Macedonian officer).—12. Titus determines to surround the city with a wall.—13. Great slaughter and sacrilege takes place in Jerusalem.



BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

1. TITUS, having crossed the desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner above described, arrived at Cæsarea, where he had determined to organize his forces previous to the campaign. While he was still at Alexandria, assisting his father in establishing the sovereignty which God had recently committed to them, it happened that the sedition in Jerusalem, having again come to a head, had assumed a threefold shape, and that one party had turned to prey upon itself; a disunion which, as occurring among miscreants, we might call a blessing, and a work of retribution. The attempt of the Zealots upon the people, which was the first step in the capture of the city, has already been accurately described, both as to its origin, and the extent of mischief to which it increased. And with regard to this fresh outbreak, he would not err who should say that it was a sedition engendered within sedition, and, at length, like a ravening wild beast, for want of other food, preying upon its own flesh.

2. Eleazar, the son of Simon, the man who had originally withdrawn the Zealots from among the people into the temple—under pretence of being indignant at the atrocities daily perpetrated by John, who continued, without intermission, his career of blood, but, in reality, because he was unable to brook submission to a tyrant of later standing than himself, and was anxious to grasp the supreme power, and establish a tyranny in his own person—seceded from the rest, associating with him Judas, son of Chelkias, and Simon, son of Ezron, men of influence, and Ezekias, son of Chobari, a man of some distinction. Each of these was attended by a considerable body of Zealots, and, with their aid, they seized on the inner court of the temple, and ranged their arms over the sacred gates, in front of the sanctuary. Having an ample supply of necessaries, they were thus far inspired with confidence; (for there was abundance of consecrated

articles for men who hesitated at no impiety) but apprehensive on account of the paucity of their numbers, they laid up their weapons, and confined themselves to the spot. But, whatever numerical advantage John might possess over Eleazar, it was counterbalanced by the inferiority of his situation. Having the enemy over his head, his attacks were not made with impunity; while yet rage would not allow him to remain at rest. Thus, though he suffered more from Eleazar and his party than he inflicted, he would not desist, and amidst continual sallies, and clouds of missiles discharged on both sides, the temple was everywhere defiled with blood.

3. Simon, son of Gioras, whom the people had applied to in their difficulties in hope of relief, and had thus brought upon themselves an oppressor, being master of the upper town, and great part of the lower, now prosecuted his attacks upon John and his associates with the greater vigour, as they were also assailed from above. When he advanced to the charge he was below them, as they were with respect to those above. In consequence, John, attacked on both sides, sustained loss, as easily as he inflicted it. Whatever disadvantage he suffered in being lower than Eleazar, was compensated by the superiority of his position to that of Simon. The attacks from below, accordingly, he repelled with ease by hand weapons, while those who threw their missiles down from the temple he kept in check by his engines.

Of scorpions, catapults, and balistas, he had an ample supply, and with these he not only defended himself against his assailants, but also killed many of the worshippers; for, though madly hurried on to every impiety, they yet admitted those who wished to sacrifice, previously searching the native Jews with suspicious vigilance, but receiving strangers with less apprehension. And yet these, though successful at the entrance in deprecating their cruelty, sometimes became the casual victims of the sedition. For the darts from the engines, carried over by their force to the very altar and sanctuary, would light upon the priests and worshippers; and many who had hastened from the ends of the earth to a spot so celebrated, and deemed holy by all mankind, fell around it themselves, before their sacrifices, and sprinkled with their own blood that altar which was universally venerated by Greeks and Barbarians. The dead bodies of natives and foreigners, of priests and profane, lay huddled together, and the blood of all kinds of carcasses stood in pools in the courts of God.

What equal to this, O most wretched city! hast thou suffered from the Romans, who entered to cleanse thee from thine intestine pollu-

tions? For thou wast no longer God's place, nor couldst thou continue, after having become a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own people, and made the temple a charnel-house of civil war! Yet it may be that thy lot may be ameliorated, if only thou wilt propitiate that God who laid thee desolate! But emotion must be restrained by the law of history, as this is not the place for private expressions of grief, but for the narration of events. I shall now relate, in order, the occurrences of the sedition.

4. The conspirators in the city being divided into three factions, Eleazar and his party, who were in possession of the sacred first-fruits, directed their drunken rage against John. He again, with his associates, plundered the people, and wreaked his fury on Simon, who, to the prejudice of his opponents in sedition, was furnished with supplies by the city. John, whenever he found himself attacked by both parties, faced his men in opposite directions, on the one hand assailing from the colonnades those who were coming up from the town, and on the other repelling with his engines those who poured their missiles from the temple; but if at any time relieved from the enemy who pressed on him from above—and inebriation and fatigue frequently induced a cessation on their part—he would sally forth the more fearlessly, and in greater force, against Simon and his adherents. But invariably, however far into the city he drove the enemy before him, throughout that whole extent he set fire to the store-houses, which were filled with corn and provisions of every kind; and the same again, on John's retreat, Simon did, when pursuing him, as if designedly serving the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against a siege, and severing the sinews of their own strength. The result accordingly was, that all around the temple was burned down, and the city became the alternate seat of solitude and battle; and that almost the whole of the corn, which might have sufficed the besieged for many years, was consumed. They were, accordingly, reduced by famine; which would hardly have been possible, had they not previously prepared it for themselves.

5. The city being now on all sides harassed by the conspirators and the concourse of adventurers, the people between them, like some huge carcass, were torn in pieces. Aged men and women, distracted by intestine ills, were praying for the arrival of the Romans, and anxiously looking forwards to the external war for delivery from domestic miseries. Dreadful consternation and alarm had seized the native inhabitants. There was no opportunity for planning a change of measures, nor hope of accommodation or escape to those who desired them. For there was a general system of surveillance carried

on; and the brigand chiefs, disagreeing in everything else, put to death as common enemies all who were disposed for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an intention to desert, and concurred alone in the slaughter of those who merited preservation.

Incessant was the clamour of the combatants, both by day and by night; but more affecting were the ceaseless complaints of the mourners. Their calamities afforded, indeed, uninterrupted cause for lamentations, though terror repressed their shrieks; but while, through fear, they suppressed their emotions, they were tortured with stifled groans. No respect was any longer paid to the living by their relations; no sepulture provided for the dead—the cause in either case being personal despair. For those who took no part in the sedition had given up their interest in everything, as certainly doomed to almost instantaneous destruction. The insurgents, meanwhile, maintained their contests, trampling on the dead, as they lay piled in heaps, and, catching their desperate phrensy from the corpses at their feet, were the more infuriated.

Ever devising some new means for mutual destruction, and without mercy executing their resolves, they left untried no method of torment or cruelty. John even profanely used the sacred timber for the construction of warlike engines; for the people, in conjunction with the chief priests, having some time before determined to underprop the sanctuary, and raise it twenty cubits higher, king Agrippa had, at vast labour and expense, brought down the materials for that purpose from Mount Lebanon—beams admirable for their straightness and size. But the war having interrupted the work, John, finding them of sufficient length, cut them up, and constructed towers for his defence against those who assailed him from the more elevated part of the temple. These he advanced and placed behind the enclosure, opposite the western chamber, where alone it was practicable, the other parts being occupied by extensive flights of steps.

6. John, with the aid of the engines thus impiously constructed, hoped to triumph over his opponents; but God rendered his labour of no avail, having brought in the Romans before he could bring any of his towers into play. For Titus, having drawn together part of his troops to himself, and sent orders to the others to meet him at Jerusalem, broke up from Cæsarea. There were the three legions which, under the command of his father, had before ravaged Judæa, and the twelfth, that had formerly been defeated with Cestius, and which, remarkable at all times for its valour, on this occasion, from a recollection of what had befallen it, advanced with the greater alacrity to revenge. Of these he directed the fifth to join him by the route

of Ammaus, and the tenth to go up by that of Jericho; while he himself moved forward with the remainder, attended, beside these, by the contingents from the allied sovereigns, all in increased force, and by a considerable body of Syrian auxiliaries.

Detachments having been drafted by Vespasian from the four legions, and sent with Mucianus into Italy, their places were filled up from among the troops that had come with Titus. For two thousand men, selected from among the forces of Alexandria, and three thousand of the guards from the Euphrates, accompanied him; and with them, Tiberius Alexander, the most approved of his friends for attachment and prudence, who had previously administered the affairs of Egypt, and was now deemed worthy to have the command of the forces, from his having been the first to welcome the new dynasty at its first rise; and from having attached himself with signal fidelity to its fortunes while yet uncertain. Superior in age and experience, he attended Titus, as his adviser in the exigencies of the war.

CHAPTER II.

1. As Titus advanced into the hostile territory, the royal forces, and the body of auxiliaries, led the way; and after these the pioneers and measurers of the camp. Next came the baggage of the generals; and after the soldiers in charge of this, Titus himself, escorted by the spearmen and the other picked troops; and behind him the legionary horse. These were succeeded by the engines, and they again by the tribunes at the head of a select corps, and by the commanders of the cohorts. Next in course, and encircling the eagle, were the ensigns, in front of which advanced the trumpeters. Then marched the phalanx, in rank, six abreast, followed by the servants of the several legions, and these preceded by the baggage. Last of all came the mercenaries, with the rear-guard to protect them. Leading on his forces in orderly array, according to Roman usage, Titus marched through Samaria to Gophna, which had been previously taken by his father, and was then garrisoned. Here he rested for the night, and, setting forward early in the morning, advanced a day's march, and encamped in the valley, which is called by the Jews, in their native tongue, "The Valley of Thorns," adjacent to a village named Gabath-Saul, which signifies "Saul's Hill," distant from Jerusalem about

thirty furlongs. From hence, accompanied by about six hundred picked horsemen, he rode forward to reconnoitre the strength of the city, and ascertain the disposition of the Jews, whether, on seeing him, they would be terrified into a surrender previous to any actual conflict; for he was persuaded, as was the fact, that the people, crushed down by the insurgents and brigands, desired peace, but remained quiet merely from inability to resist.

2. While he continued to ride along the direct route which led to the wall, no one appeared before the gates; but on his filing off from the road towards the tower Psephinus, and taking an oblique direction with his squadron, the Jews suddenly rushed out in immense numbers at a spot called "The Women's Towers," through the gate opposite the monuments of Helena. They broke through his ranks, and placing themselves in front of the troops who were still advancing along the road, prevented them from joining their comrades, who had filed off, and thus intercepted Titus with only a handful of men. For him to move forward was impossible; as the entire space was intersected by transverse walls and numerous fences, and separated from the ramparts by dykes made for gardening purposes. To rejoin his own men he saw was impracticable, from the vast interposing body of the enemy; and the greater part of his squadron, unconscious of their prince's danger, and not doubting but that he also had turned back along with them, were already in retreat. Sensible that his safety wholly depended on his own personal efforts, he turned his horse round, and, calling aloud to those about him to follow, dashed into the midst of the enemy, with the view of cutting his way through to his own party.

And here the reflection is forcibly suggested, that the vicissitudes of war and the dangers of sovereigns are under the care of God: for of the innumerable missiles aimed at Titus, without helmet as he was or breastplate—for he had gone forward, as I have said, not to fight, but to reconnoitre—none touched him; but, as if purposely missing their aim, all whizzed harmless by. Constantly repelling with his sword the attacks of those who assailed him in flank, and riding down multitudes who encountered him in front, he urged his horse over his prostrate foes. The Jews shouted aloud at Cæsar's intrepidity, and cheered each other on against him; but wherever he directed his course they fled, and made way for him in a mass. Those who shared his danger kept close to him, though galled in rear and flank. For one hope of safety alone remained to each, to open a passage with Titus, and prevent him from being hemmed in. Of two, however, less vigorous, one with his horse was surrounded and

speared; the other, who had dismounted, was killed, and his charger led off to the city: with the rest Titus escaped to the camp. By the success of this their first attempt, the Jews were elated with unwarranted expectations, and this momentary turn of fortune inspired them with high confidence as to the future.

3. Cæsar, being joined during the night by the legion from Ammaus, moved the next day from thence, and advanced to Scopus, as it is called, the place from which the city first became visible, and the stately pile of the sanctuary shone forth; whence it is that this spot—a flat adjoining the northern quarter of the town—is appropriately called Scopus (*the Prospect*). When at the distance of seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered a camp to be formed for two of the legions together; the fifth he stationed three furlongs in rear of them: thinking that, as they had been fatigued with their march during the night, they required to be covered, that they might throw up their entrenchments with less apprehension. Scarcely had they commenced their operations, when the tenth legion arrived. It had advanced through Jericho, where a party of soldiers had lain to guard the pass formerly taken possession of by Vespasian. These troops had received orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the Mount of Olives, so called, which lies over against the city on the east, and is separated from it by a deep intervening ravine, which bears the name of Kedron.

4. Whilst the factions within the walls were engaged in unceasing conflicts, an external war, suddenly approaching with alarming aspect, first checked their mutual dissensions; and the insurgents, beholding with dismay the Romans forming three several encampments, began to cultivate a pernicious concord, demanding of each other what they could be waiting for, or what could induce them to tolerate the erection of three fortifications to smother them? While the war unhindered was assuming the aspect of a rival city, they sat still within their ramparts, as if they were spectators of good and useful works, their hands and weapons alike unemployed. "We are courageous, then," they exclaimed, "only against ourselves; while the Romans, through our disunion, will make a bloodless conquest of the city!" Assembling together, and encouraging one another with language such as this, they suddenly seized their arms, and sallied forth to attack the tenth legion; and, bursting through the ravine with a deafening shout, fell upon the Romans while at work upon their entrenchments. These were divided into parties for the purpose of carrying on the work, and had for the most part laid aside their arms; for they imagined that the Jews would never

venture on a sally, and, even were they so inclined, that their energies would be distracted by their dissensions. They were in consequence taken by surprise, and thrown into disorder. Abandoning the works, some instantly retreated, while many, who ran to arms, were slaughtered before they could turn on their assailants.

Encouraged by the success of the first assault, reinforcements were continually flowing in upon the Jews; and now that they found fortune auspicious, they seemed to themselves, and to the enemy, greatly to exceed their actual amount. Any disarray taking by surprise men who are accustomed to organization, and skilled only to fight in line and by word of command, is sure to throw them into confusion. The Romans, accordingly, on this occasion, being taken unawares, gave way to the attack; but, facing about when the Jews came up with them, they checked their advance, retaliating severely on them, when off their guard in the ardour of pursuit. But, as the sallying party were gaining continual accessions, the disorder of the Romans was proportionably increased, and they were at length driven from their camp. And the entire legion, as it seemed, would then have been endangered, had not Titus, hearing what had happened, instantly hastened to its succour. Bitterly upbraiding their cowardice, he rallied the fugitives, and falling upon the Jews in flank, with the chosen band that accompanied him, he slew many, and wounded more; and, routing all, drove them headlong down the ravine. They suffered severely on the declivity; but when they had reached the farther side, they wheeled about, and drawing up opposite to the Romans, with the brook between them, renewed the combat. The battle raged in this way till noon, but when it began to decline a little from mid-day, Titus, having stationed those who had come with him to the relief of their comrades, with detachments from the cohorts, to repress any further sallies, despatched the remainder of the legion to the upper part of the Mount, to proceed with their entrenchments.

5. This movement the Jews mistook for flight; and, the watchman whom they had placed on the battlements having shaken his garment, a fresh crowd sprang forth with such impetuosity, that you might compare their running to that of the most ferocious wild beasts. None of their opponents could at all sustain their onset; but as if struck from an engine, they broke up their ranks and turned and fled to the Mount. Titus was left with a few followers in the midst of the declivity. The friends who stood their ground, indifferent to personal danger through reverence for their general, earnestly entreated him "to retire before the Jews, who courted death, and

not to endanger his life for those who ought to have remained in front of him. He should consider the station to which fortune had elevated him, and not occupy the position of a common soldier, lord as he was both of the war and of the world; nor should he, on whom all depended, expose himself to a risk so imminent."

These entreaties Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but set himself to withstand those who were running up the hill towards him. Confronting them as they pressed forwards, he cut them down and slew them, and falling upon the thickest of the mass, drove them back down the declivity. Yet, though terrified both at his intrepidity and his strength, instead of falling back upon the city, they fell off from him on either side, and pursued those who were fleeing up the hill; on which, attacking them also in flank, he sought to check their impetuosity. In the meantime, those who were fortifying the camp on the higher ground, when they saw their comrades below in flight, were again seized with such consternation and alarm, that the legion was totally dispersed. They fancied that the charge of the Jews was irresistible, and that Titus himself was among the fugitives; for the rest, they thought, would never have fled, while he maintained his ground. As if surrounded with a panic dread, they scattered in different directions; until a few, perceiving their General in the thickest of the fight, and greatly alarmed on his account, with loud shouts intimated his danger to the whole legion. Shame rallied them, and upbraiding one another with something worse than flight, in their desertion of Cæsar, they employed their utmost energies against the Jews, and, when once they had given way, thrust them in a mass down the declivity into the hollow. The Jews contested the ground as they retreated; but the Romans, having the advantage of position, drove them in a body into the ravine. Titus, still pressing on those who opposed him, ordered the legion back to complete their fortifications. He himself, with the troops he had before, maintained his ground, and kept the enemy in check; so that, if it be incumbent on me, without adding aught through adulation, or detracting through envy, to declare the truth, I must assert, that Cæsar personally twice rescued the whole legion when in danger, and obtained for them an opportunity of fortifying their camp unmolested.

CHAPTER III.

1. THE war without—pausing for a while, the sedition revived again within; and the feast of unleavened bread being at hand, on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, upon which the Jews are supposed to have been for the first time liberated from Egyptian servitude, Eleazar and his party opened the gates, and admitted such of the people as were desirous of worshipping within the court. John, making the festival a cloak for his perfidious designs, armed with concealed weapons the less notorious of his adherents, of whom the greater part were unpurified, and with much ado introduced them by stealth, with the view of seizing upon the temple. Scarcely had they entered, when, throwing aside their garments, they suddenly appeared in full armour. The utmost disorder and tumult instantly prevailed around the sanctuary, the people, who were unconnected with the sedition, supposing that the attack was intended against all indiscriminately—the Zealots, against themselves alone. The latter, however, relinquishing the further defence of the gates, sprang down from the battlements, and, before they came to close quarters, took refuge in the vaults of the temple; while the people, crouching before the altar, and huddling together round the sanctuary, were trodden down amidst a random shower of blows from clubs and swords. Many peaceable persons, through enmity and private hatred, were dispatched by their enemies as partisans of the adverse faction; and every one that had previously given umbrage to any of the conspirators, being now recognised, was led to execution, as a Zealot. But while they exercised a thousand cruelties towards the innocent, they granted a truce to the guilty, and allowed them a safe egress, when they issued from the vaults. Having thus possessed themselves of the inner court of the temple, with all the stores in it, they could now bid defiance to Simon. The sedition, in consequence, which had before been threefold, was thus reduced to two sections.

2. Titus, intending to break up from Scopus and encamp nearer to the city, stationed a body of picked men, horse and foot, in such force as he deemed sufficient to check the sallies of the enemy, and employed the main body of his army in levelling the intervening ground as far as the walls. All the fences and hedges, with which the inhabitants had enclosed their gardens and orchards,

being accordingly swept away, and the fruit-trees in the whole of the intermediate distance felled, the hollows and chasms of the place were filled up, and the rocky eminences removed with iron implements; and thus the whole space from Scopus to the monuments of Herod, adjacent to what is called "the Serpents' Pool," was reduced to a level.

3. About this time the Jews concerted the following stratagem against the Romans. The more daring of the insurgents, issuing out of the Women's Towers, as they were called, as if expelled from the city by the advocates of peace, and dreading an attack from the Romans, pressed close together, cowering alongside of each other. The others, stationed on the wall, and pretending to be citizens, cried aloud, meanwhile, for peace, and claiming protection, invited the Romans, promising to open the gates. Amidst these vociferations, they moreover assailed their own party with stones, as if to drive them from the gates. The latter made feints of attempting to force the entrances, and of petitioning those within; ever and anon rushing towards the Romans, and again retreating, as if in extreme agitation.

Among the soldiers their knavery did not fail to obtain credit. Imagining they had one party in their hands, ready for punishment, and hoping that the other would open the city to them, they were on the point of proceeding to action. This unaccountable invitation, however, was viewed by Titus with suspicion; for having but the day before, through Josephus, invited them to terms, he had found their demands exceeding all reason; and he therefore ordered the soldiers then to remain in their position. Some of those at the works, notwithstanding, who were stationed in front, had already snatched up their arms, and run forwards towards the gates. They who pretended to have been expelled from the city, at first retired before them; but when the soldiers were between the towers of the gate, the Jews, rushing out, surrounded them, and attacked them in rear. Those on the wall poured down a shower of stones, and every species of missile, so that many were killed, and great numbers wounded; for it was by no means easy to escape from the wall, as they were pressed upon by those behind. Besides, shame for the error of their leaders, and fear, induced them to persevere in their fault. Accordingly, after maintaining a long contest with their spears, and receiving many wounds from their opponents, but inflicting not fewer in return, they eventually drove back the party who had surrounded them. The Jews, however, as soon as they began to retire, pursued them as far as the monuments of Helena, annoying them with missiles.

4. Hereupon the Jews, exulting immoderately in their good fortune, passed their jests on the Romans, who had been the dupes of the artifice, and brandishing their shields, danced and shouted for joy. The soldiers were received with a reprimand from their officers, and with indignation on the part of Cæsar.

"The Jews," said he, "whom desperation alone directs, do every thing with forethought and circumspection, carefully arranging their stratagems and ambuscades:—fortune, moreover, favours their enterprises, because of their obedience, their kindly feelings towards one another, and their fidelity; while the Romans, to whom even fortune, by reason of their discipline, and prompt submission to their officers, has ever been a servant, now fail under an opposite line of conduct, and are defeated through their own intemperate proceedings; and, what redounds most of all to their disgrace, they fight without a leader, when Cæsar is present. Decply," he said, "would the laws of military service mourn, and equally so his father, when he hears of this discomfiture—he who, grown old in wars, had never met with a similar disaster—those laws, which always punish with death such as are guilty of the slightest infringement of discipline, and yet which have now seen an entire army abandon its post. But those who have been thus presumptuous shall instantly know, that, among the Romans, even to gain a victory without orders is attended with dishonour."

Titus, having made these protestations to the officers, evinced a determination to put the law in force against all. Accordingly, as expecting the next moment to meet with the death they had deserved, they became greatly dejected; but the legions, pouring round Titus, petitioned him for their fellow-soldiers, imploring him to pardon, in consideration of the obedience of the many, the rashness of a few; and promising that they would atone for their present error by future deserts."

5. With these solicitations, and with the dictates of prudence, Cæsar complied; for he thought that though, in the case of individuals, punishment should be actually inflicted, yet, when numbers were implicated, it should end with reproof. He was therefore reconciled to the soldiers; but he strictly admonished them to act for the time to come with greater circumspection. He now deliberated how best to revenge himself for this artifice of the Jews. In four days, the interval between his post and the walls having been levelled, Titus, anxious to forward in safety the baggage and the followers of the army, ranged the flower of his troops opposite the wall on the northern quarter of the city, and extending towards the west, the phalanx being drawn up seven deep. The infantry were disposed in front,

and the cavalry in rear, each in three ranks ; the archers, who formed the seventh, being in the middle.

The sallies of the Jews being checked by such an array, the beasts of burthen belonging to the three legions, with the camp-followers, passed on in safety. Titus himself encamped about two furlongs from the ramparts, at the corner opposite the tower called Psephinus, where the circuit of the wall, in its advance along the north side, bends with a western aspect. The other division of the army was entrenched opposite to the tower named Hippicus, distant, in like manner, two furlongs from the city. The tenth legion continued to occupy its position on the Mount of Olives, as it is called.

CHAPTER IV.

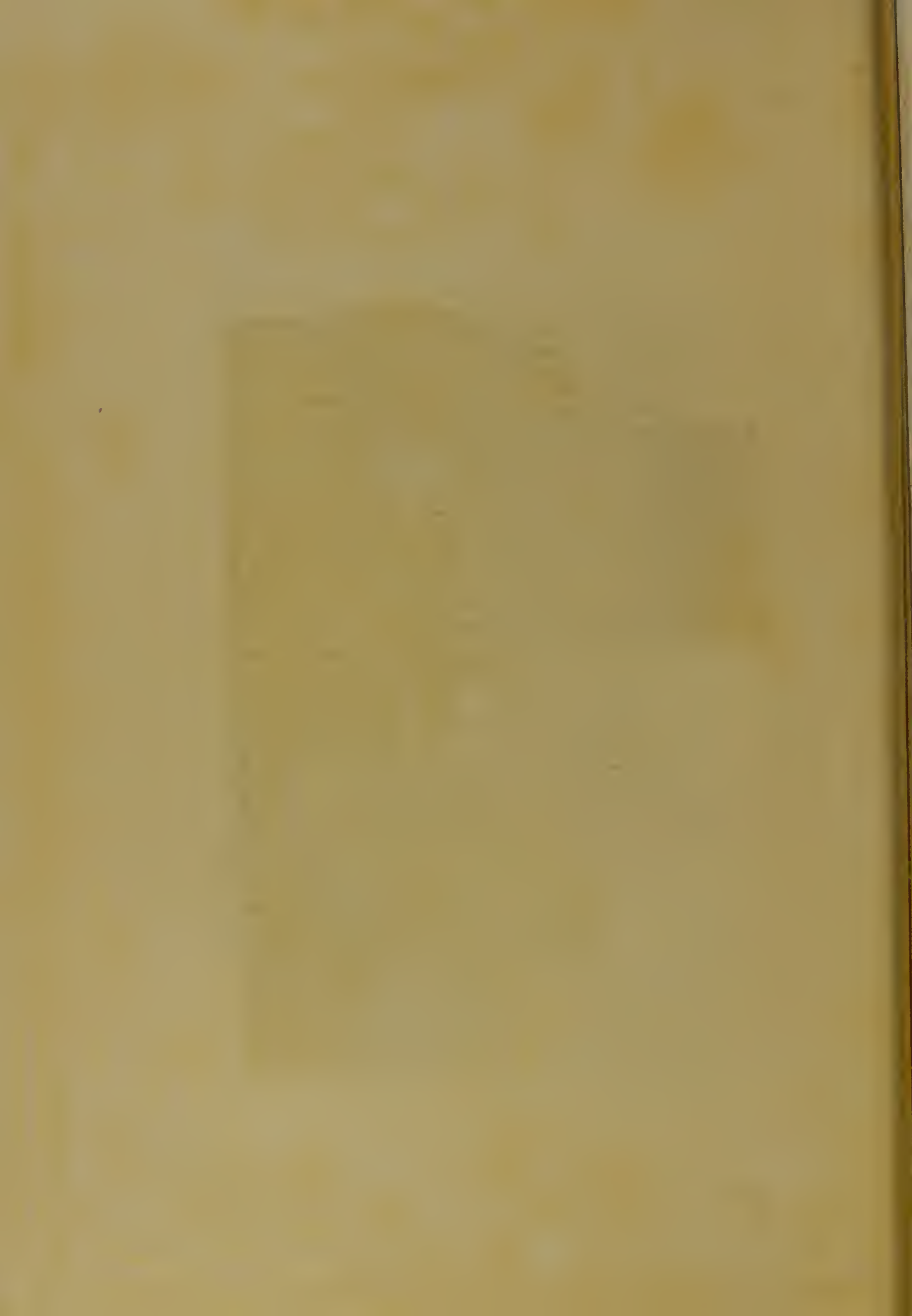
1. JERUSALEM, fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed by its impassable ravines, for there it had but a single rampart—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by an intervening valley, at which the rows of houses terminated. Of these hills, that on which the upper town was situated is much the higher, and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Fortress by king David, the father of Solomon, by whom the temple was originally erected ; but by us, the Upper Market-place. The other, which bears the name of Acra, and supports the lower town, is of a gibbous form. Opposite to this was a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and formerly severed from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Asmonæans, during their reign, filled up the ravine, with the intention of uniting the city to the temple ; and levelling the summit of Acra, they reduced its elevation, so that the temple might be conspicuous above other objects in this quarter also. The Valley of the Cheese-makers, as it was designated, which divided, as we have said, the hill of the upper town from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam, as we call it, a fountain whose waters are at once sweet and copious. On the exterior, the two hills on which the city stood were skirted by deep ravines, so precipitous on either side that the town was nowhere accessible.

2. Of the three walls, the most ancient, as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above them on which it was erected, was almost impregnable. But, besides the advantages of its

situation, it was also strongly built; David and Solomon, as well as their successors on the throne, having devoted much attention to the work. Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to what was termed the Xystus, it then formed a junction with the council-house, and terminated at the western colonnade of the temple. On the other side, towards the west, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it was styled, to the gate of the Essenes. It then turned, and advanced with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam, whence it again inclined, facing the east, towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot designated Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the temple.

The second had its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first wall. It reached to the Antonia, and encircled only the northern quarter of the town. The tower Hippicus formed the commencement of the third wall, which stretched from thence towards the northern quarter, as far as the tower Psephinus, and then passing opposite the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates, and extending through the royal caverns, was inflected at the corner tower near to the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb; and, connecting itself with the old wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected; for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts; and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse, purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access, and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the altitude of the towers.

The quarter most recently built was called, in our language, Bezetha, which, if translated into the Greek tongue, would be Cænopolis (*New-town*). Those who resided there requiring defence, the father of the present sovereign, and of the same name, Agrippa, commenced the wall we have mentioned. But, apprehending that Claudius Cæsar might suspect from the magnitude of the structure that he entertained some designs of innovation and insurrection, he desisted when he had merely laid the foundations. For, indeed, had he completed that wall upon the scale on which it was begun, the city would have been impregnable. It was constructed of stones twenty cubits



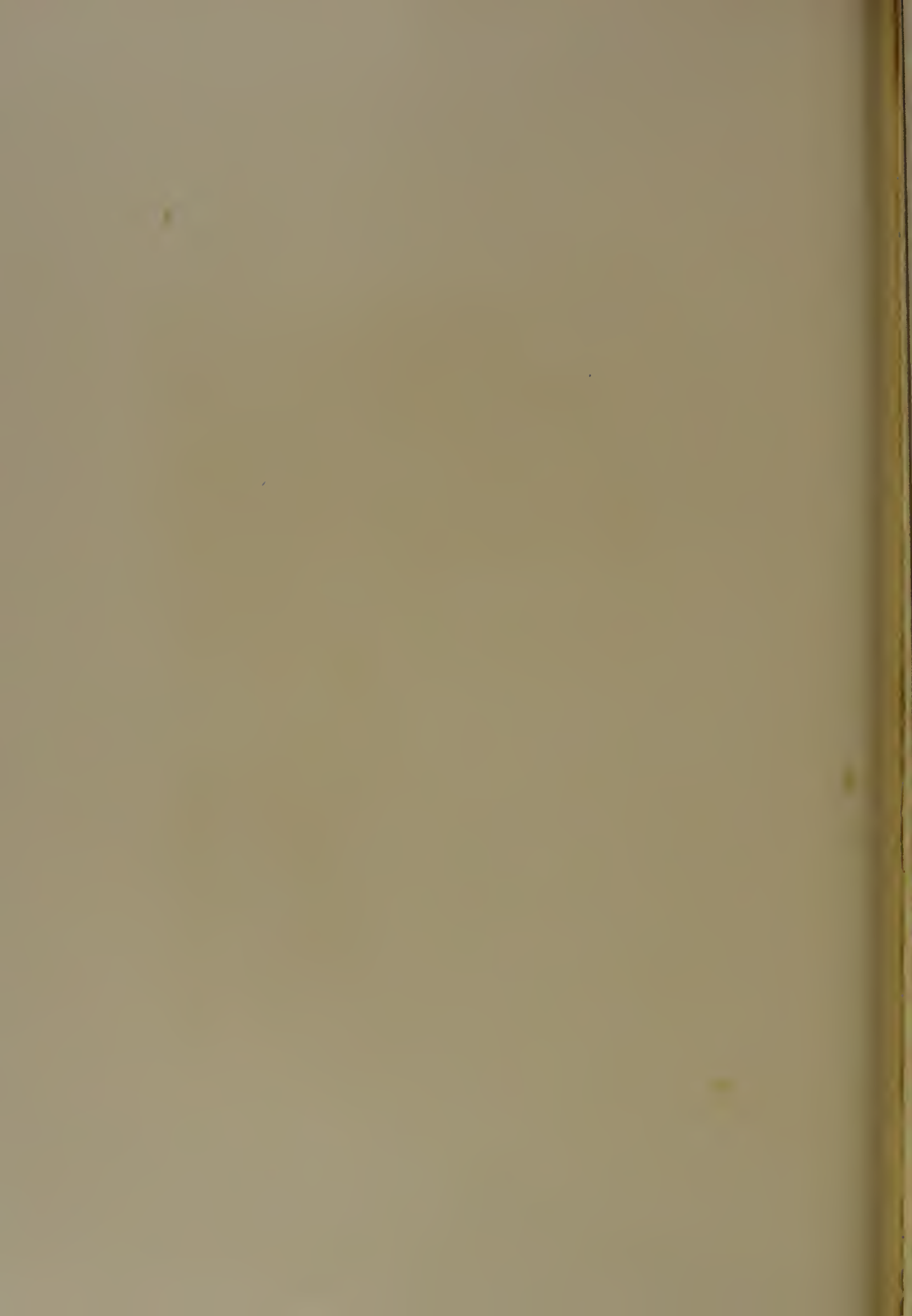


HIPE CUS.





HIPPICUS.



long and ten broad, fitted into each other in such a manner that they could scarcely have been undermined with iron, or shaken by engines. The wall itself was ten cubits in breadth; and it would probably have attained a greater height than it did, had not the enterprising spirit of its founder met with a check; but subsequently, though the work was carried on with ardour by the Jews, it only rose to the height of twenty cubits; while, crowning this, were battlements of two cubits, upon parapets of three cubits in altitude, so that it attained in its entire elevation twenty-five cubits.

3. On this wall were erected towers, twenty cubits in breadth, and the same in height, square, and solid as the wall itself. In the joining and beauty of the stones, they were nowise inferior to the temple. Over the solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, were sumptuous apartments; and above these, again, upper rooms, and numerous cisterns therein to receive the rain-water, and to each room wide staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of two hundred cubits. The middle wall was divided into fourteen towers, and the ancient one into sixty. Of the city, the entire circuit was thirty-three furlongs. But admirable as was the third wall throughout, still more so was the tower Psephinus, which rose up at the north-west angle, and opposite to which Titus encamped. Being seventy cubits high, it afforded at sunrise a prospect of Arabia, and of the limits of the Hebrew territories as far as the sea; it was octagonal in form.

Over against this was the tower Hippicus, and near to it two others, all erected by king Herod in the ancient wall, which, in magnitude, beauty, and strength, exceeded all that the world could produce; for, with a taste naturally magnificent, and ambitious of decorating the city, the king further sought, in the surpassing splendour of these works, to gratify his private feelings, and dedicated them to the memory of the three persons to whom he had been most tenderly attached, and after whom he named the towers—his brother, his friend, and his wife. The last mentioned, as we have above related, he had put to death through wounded love; the two former he had lost in war, fighting gallantly.

Hippicus, so called from his friend, was quadrangular, its length and breadth being each twenty-five cubits, and to the height of thirty cubits it was solid throughout. Above this solid part, which was constructed of stones formed into one compact mass, was a reservoir to receive the rain, twenty cubits deep, over which was a house of two stories, twenty-five cubits high, and divided into various apartments. Above this were battlements of two cubits in height, mounted upon

parapets of three; so that the entire altitude amounted to eighty cubits.

The second tower, which he named Phasaëlus, from his brother, was of equal length and breadth, forty cubits each, and the same in solid height. Over this, and embracing the whole of the structure, was a gallery, ten cubits high, defended by breast-works and battlements. Above this, and rising from its centre, was built another tower, containing sumptuous apartments, and also a bath; so that nothing was wanting to impart to this tower the aspect of a palace. Its summit was more richly ornamented with battlements and parapets than that just described, and its entire altitude was about ninety cubits. In appearance it resembled the tower of Pharos, which serves as a lighthouse to those sailing to Alexandria, though it was much greater in circumference. At this date it was the seat of Simon's tyranny.

The third tower, Mariamne—for such was the queen's name—was solid to the height of twenty cubits; its breadth, also, being twenty cubits, and its length the same. Its upper apartments were more sumptuous and elegant than those of the other towers, the king thinking it more suitable that that named from a woman should be more highly ornamented than those called after men, just as they were stronger than the woman's. Of this the entire elevation was fifty-five cubits.

4. But while such was the actual magnitude of these three towers, their site added much to their apparent dimensions. For the ancient wall in which they stood was itself built on a lofty hill; and higher still rose up in front, to the height of thirty cubits, a kind of crest of the hill; on this the towers rested, and thus acquired a much greater altitude. Admirable, likewise, was the magnitude of the stones; for these towers were not constructed of ordinary blocks, nor of stones such as might be carried by men, but of white marble, cut; and the length of each block was twenty cubits, its breadth ten, and its depth five. So accurately were they joined one upon another, that each tower seemed a single rock that jutted up naturally, and had subsequently been polished all round by the hands of the artificer into its angular form; so totally imperceptible on all sides was the fitting of the joints.

To these towers, which lay northward, was attached on the inner side the royal residence, which exceeded all description. The magnificence of the work, and the skill displayed in its construction, could not be surpassed. It was completely enclosed within a wall thirty cubits high, and ornamented towers were distributed around it at equal distances, with spacious apartments, each capable of containing couches for a hundred guests. In these the diversity of the stones

was not to be expressed; for, whatever was rare in every country, was there collected in abundance. Admirable, also, were their roofs, both for the length of the beams, and for the splendour of their decorations. The number of apartments, moreover, and the variety of devices around them, were infinite; nor was any article of furniture wanting in any of them, the greater proportion of it in each being of silver and gold.

All around were many cloistered courts opening into one another, and the columns in each different. Such parts of these as were open to the air were everywhere clothed with verdure. There were besides, various groves with long walks through them, lined by deep conduits; and in many places ponds studded with bronze figures, through which the water was discharged; and around the streams were numerous cots for tame doves. But, indeed, adequately to describe the palace is impossible; and the recollection stings me to the heart, recalling as it does the ravages of the brigand fires. For it was not the Romans who consigned it to the flames, but this was done, as we have before related, by the conspirators within the city at an early stage of the revolt. The conflagration began at the Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE temple, as I have said, was seated on a strong hill. Originally the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary, and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But king Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment. On the other sides, the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, however, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied. After having surrounded the hill from the base with a triple wall, and accomplished a work which surpassed all expectation—a work on which long ages were consumed, and all their sacred treasures exhausted, though replenished by the tributes offered to God from every region of the world—they built the upper boundary walls, and the lower court of the temple.

The lowest part of the latter they built up from a depth of three

hundred cubits, and in some places more. The entire depth of the foundations, however, was not discernible; for, with a view to level the streets of the town, they filled up the ravines to a considerable extent. There were stones used in the building which measured forty cubits; for so ample was the supply of money, and such the zeal of the people, that incredible success attended the undertaking; and that of which hope itself could not anticipate the accomplishment, was by time and perseverance completed.

2. Nor was the superstructure unworthy of such foundations. The colonnades, double throughout, were supported by pillars twenty-five cubits in height, each a single block of marble of the purest white. The ceilings were of panelled cedar. The natural magnificence of the latter, their exquisite polish, and the accurate fitting of the joints, presented a memorable spectacle, though unaided by any extrinsic embellishments of painting or sculpture. The colonnades were thirty cubits broad, and their entire circuit, including the Antonia, measured six furlongs. The open space was paved throughout, and variegated with stones of every kind. As you advanced through this to the second court of the temple, you came to a stone balustrade, drawn all round, three cubits in height, and of exquisite workmanship. On this stood tablets at regular intervals, setting forth the law of purification, some in Greek, others in Roman letters, that no foreigner was permitted to enter within the holy place; for so the second court of the temple was called. It was ascended from the first by fourteen steps, was quadrangular at the top, and surrounded by a distinct wall. The exterior altitude of this, though not less than forty cubits, was concealed by the steps; the inner was twenty-five cubits; for being constructed with steps against a rising ground, a portion only of the inner side was visible, the remainder being concealed by the hill.

Beyond the fourteen steps, the distance to the wall was ten cubits, all level. Thence again other flights of five steps led up to the gates, of which there were eight on the north and south sides, four to each, and two necessarily on the east; for a place of worship, set apart for the women, having been portioned off on that quarter by a wall, a second gate became requisite. This was opened opposite to the first. There were also, on the other side, one southern, and one northern gate, through which they could pass into the women's court; for women were not permitted to enter by the others, nor yet through their own to pass beyond the wall of separation. This enclosure was, however, free for purposes of worship both to women of our own country, and to those of our people born in foreign lands, without



HARAM: PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE.

(WEST SIDE)



distinction. The quarter towards the west had no gate; the wall on that side being built without a break. The cloisters that extended between the gates from the wall, and turned inward in front of the treasury chambers, were supported by large and extremely beautiful columns. These were single, and, except in size, in no respect inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Of the gates nine were overlaid throughout with gold and silver; as were their side-posts and lintels; but one of them, that which was exterior to the sanctuary, was of Corinthian brass, and greatly exceeding in sumptuousness those plated with silver and gold. To each gateway were two doors, and each door was thirty cubits in height and fifteen in breadth. Within the entrances, however, the gate-ways expanded on either side, and contained chambers thirty cubits in breadth and the same in length, built in the form of towers, and exceeding forty cubits in altitude; each supported by two pillars, twelve cubits in circumference. Of all the other gates the dimensions were equal; but that beyond the Corinthian, and which opened on the eastern side from the women's court, opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was much the larger; having an elevation of fifty cubits, with doors of forty, and with decorations more costly, being overlaid with massive plates of silver and gold. The nine gates were sheeted in this manner by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Fifteen steps conducted from the women's partition to the larger gate; for they were shallower than those five steps which led to the other gates.

4. To the sanctuary itself, the holy temple, situated in the centre, the ascent was by twelve steps. In front its height and breadth were equal, a hundred cubits each. In rear it was forty cubits narrower; for in front a kind of shoulders extended on either side twenty cubits. Its first gate, which was seventy cubits high, and twenty-five broad, had no doors; for it represented the invisible and unobstructed heaven. The entire face was covered with gold; and through it appeared within, the whole of the first compartment, which was very large; while every thing around the inner gate met the eye of the spectator, resplendent with gold. The sanctuary within consisting of two stories, the first compartment alone lay exposed to view, rising without a break to an elevation of ninety cubits, its length being fifty, and its breadth twenty. The gate-way through this was, as I have stated, completely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. It had above it, moreover, golden vines, from which hung down clusters of grapes a man's stature in length.

The sanctuary being divided beyond this into two stories, the inside view was lower than the outside, and it had golden doors fifty-five

cubits high, and sixteen wide. Before these was spread a veil of equal length. It was of Babylonian tapestry, variegated with blue and fine linen, with scarlet and purple, wrought with admirable skill. Nor was the mixture of the materials without design; it served as a symbol of the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea: two of them being thus compared for their colour; the fine linen and the purple, on account of their origin; as the earth produces the one, and the sea the other. Embroidered on this tapestry was a representation of the entire heaven, the signs of the Zodiac excepted.

5. Advancing within, the lower story of the sanctuary received you. This was sixty cubits in height, and the same in length, while its breadth was twenty cubits. These sixty cubits of length were again divided. The first part, partitioned off at forty cubits, contained within it three pieces of workmanship, most admirable and universally celebrated; a candlestick, a table, and an altar of incense. The seven lamps represented the planets, for so many were the branches of the candlestick. The loaves on the table, twelve in number, symbolized the circle of the Zodiac, and the year. The altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices, with which it was replenished from the sea, and from lands inhabited and uninhabited, signified that all things are of God, and for God.

The innermost recess of the temple measured twenty cubits, and was separated in like manner from the outer by a veil. In this, nothing whatever was deposited. Unapproachable, inviolable, and to be seen by none, it was called the Holy of the Holy. Around the sides of the lower part of the sanctuary were many houses of three stories, communicating with one another. To these, on either side, were entrances from the vestibule. The upper part of the building had none of these chambers, inasmuch as it was narrower; but it rose forty cubits higher, and was less sumptuous than the lower part. Thus, including sixty cubits of the ground floor, we collect that the entire altitude was a hundred cubits.

6. The exterior front of the edifice wanted nothing that could strike either the mind or the eye. Overlaid throughout with massy plates of gold, it reflected at sunrise so fiery a lustre, that those who constrained themselves to look upon it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To strangers approaching, it seemed, from a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for in those parts not overlaid with gold, the building was of the purest white. On its summit were fixed sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and polluting the roof. Of the stones of which it was con-

structed, some were forty-five cubits in length, five in depth, and six in breadth. In front of it stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and extending equally in length and breadth, fifty cubits each way. In form, it was quadrangular, with corners projecting like horns. It was ascended on the south by a gently sloping acclivity. In its construction no iron was used, nor was it ever touched by iron. Surrounding both the sanctuary and the altar was a neat barrier, about a cubit high, of ornamental stone, which separated the people outside from the priests. Those affected with impure runnings, or with leprosy, were excluded from every quarter of the city. To women it was closed at particular periods; nor even when purified were they allowed to pass the limit we have mentioned above. Men, not thoroughly purified, were prohibited the inner court; from which the priests were equally excluded, if in any respect defiled.

7. Those who were of sacerdotal lineage, but were prevented from ministering by some defect, were permitted to come within the partition, along with those who had no imperfection, and received the portion which was their birth-right, but they wore the habit of private individuals: for he alone that ministered was clothed with the sacred vestments. The priests who were without blemish went up to the altar and the sanctuary dressed in fine linen, carefully abstaining from wine through a religious awe, lest they should be guilty of any transgression in their ministrations. The high priest went up with them, not at all times indeed, but on the seventh days, and new moons; and on any national festival, or annual assemblage of all the people. When ministering, he wore drawers which covered his thighs up to the loins, and an under garment of linen, and over that a blue vestment reaching to his feet, round and fringed. From the fringes were suspended golden bells, alternated with pomegranates: the bells a symbol of thunder, the pomegranates of lightning. The girdle which attached the garment to the breast was formed of five cinetures, embroidered and flowered with gold, purple, scarlet, fine linen, and blue, with which, as we have stated, the veils of the sanctuary were also interwoven.

He had an ephod, likewise, of the same mixed material, the gold preponderating. Its figure was similar to that of an ordinary coresslet. It was fastened by two golden clasps, resembling small shields, in which were set two very large and beautiful sardonxyes, bearing inscribed the names of those from whom the tribes of the nation were denominated. On the fore part were attached to it twelve stones, assorted in four rows of three each; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a

figure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolith; on each of which, again, was written the name of one of the heads of the tribes. His head was covered with a mitre of fine linen, wreathed with blue, round which was another crown, of gold, whereon were embossed the sacred letters, which are four vowels. This dress the high priest did not wear on ordinary occasions, but used one of a plainer description, except when he entered the most holy place, into which he went alone once in the year, on the day upon which it was a universal custom with us to observe a fast to God. Of the city and temple, and of the usages and laws peculiar to them, we shall speak more minutely at another time; for, in reference to these, much remains to be said.

8. The Antonia lay at the angle formed by two colonnades, the western and the northern, of the first court of the temple. It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high, and on every side precipitous. It was a work of king Herod, in which he particularly evinced the natural greatness of his mind. For, first, the rock was covered from the base upwards with smooth stone flags, as well for ornament, as that any one who attempted to ascend or descend might slip off. Next, and in front of the edifice itself, there was a wall of three cubits; and within this the entire space occupied by the Antonia rose to an altitude of forty cubits. The interior resembled a palace in extent and arrangement, being distributed into apartments of every description, and for every use, with cloistered courts and baths, and spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops; so that its various conveniences gave it the semblance of a town, its magnificence that of a palace.

The general appearance of the whole was that of a tower, with other towers at each of the four corners, three of which were fifty cubits high, while that at the south-east angle rose to an elevation of seventy cubits, so that from thence there was a complete view of the temple. Where it adjoined the colonnades of the temple, it had passages leading down to both, through which the guards—for in the fortress there always lay a Roman legion—descended and disposed themselves about the colonnades, in arms, at the festivals, to watch the people, and repress any insurrectionary movement. For the temple lay as a fortress over the city, and the Antonia over the temple, the guards of all the three being stationed in the Antonia; while the upper town had its own fortress—Herod's palace. The hill Bezetha was detached, as I have mentioned, from the Antonia. It was the highest of the three, and was joined on to part of the new town, forming northward the only obstruction to the view of the temple. As I propose to give hereafter a more minute description of the city and the walls, these remarks shall for the present suffice.

CHAPTER VI.

1. THE whole number of fighting men and insurgents in the city was as follows. Attached to Simon were ten thousand men, irrespective of the Idumæans. Over these were fifty officers, Simon himself acting as commander-in-chief. The Idumæans who joined his ranks, five thousand in number, had ten leaders, of whom James, the son of Sosas, and Simon, the son of Cathlas, were reputed to be the foremost. John, who had seized on the temple, had under his orders six thousand men-at-arms, commanded by twenty officers. The Zcalots, also, had now laid aside their differences and gone over to him, to the number of two thousand four hundred, led by Eleazar, their former general, and Simon, son of Ari. While these factions were at war with one another, as we have already stated, the citizens were their common prize; and that section of the people which refused to sanction their unjust proceedings, were torn in pieces by both.

Simon occupied the upper town and the great wall, as far as the Kedron, with as much of the old wall as, bending eastward from Siloam, descended to the palace of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, beyond the Euphrates. He held, likewise, the fountain and the Acra, which was the lower town, with the interval as far as the palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus. John occupied the temple, and the parts about it to a considerable distance, with Ophla, and the valley called Kedron. When they had reduced all that lay between these to ashes, a place was cleared for their mutual conflicts. For not even when the Romans had encamped under the walls, did the sedition pause within; but after a brief interval of returning soberness, when they made their first sally, they soon relapsed, and again began to quarrel and fight among themselves, doing all that the besiegers could have desired.

Accordingly, they were exposed to no worse treatment from the Romans than they inflicted on one another; nor after the miseries they occasioned, did the city suffer any novel calamity. Ere she fell, she had experienced a yet more cruel disaster, and they who overthrew her, afforded her still greater relief. For I affirm that the sedition subdued the city, and the Romans the sedition—a sedition much stronger than her walls. What was calamitous, may with propriety be ascribed to her own people; what was just, to the Romans. But let every one form his opinion agreeably to the facts.

2. While affairs in the city were in this posture, Titus, with a select detachment of horse, rode round the wall, in order to ascertain against what quarter he should direct his attack. Utterly at a loss on what side to assail them, there being no access at any point through the ravines, while, on the other side, the first wall appeared too firm for the engines, he determined to make the assault opposite to the monument of John, the high priest; for at this point the outer bulwark was lower, and the second was not connected, the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the new town was thinly inhabited; but there was easy access to the third wall, through which he designed to capture the upper town, and through the Antonia, the temple. But, in the mean time, while he was riding round, one of his friends, by name Nicanor, who had approached too near with Josephus, was wounded by an arrow in the left shoulder, when attempting to address those on the ramparts, to whom he was not unknown, upon the subject of peace.

Cæsar thus made aware of their headstrong violence, since they would not refrain even from those who went to them with a view to their safety, was roused to the vigorous prosecution of the siege. He at once gave the legions permission to lay waste the suburbs, and ordered them to collect the timber together for the construction of mounds. Distributing his army into three divisions for the works, he placed the javelin-men and archers in the intervals between the mounds; and in front of these the scorpions, catapults, and stone-projectors, at once to check the sallies of the enemy against the works, and curb those who endeavoured to impede them from the ramparts. The trees being felled, the suburbs were quickly stripped; but while the timber was being collected for the mounds, and the whole army diligently engaged in the operations, the Jews, on the other hand, were not inactive. The people, familiarized to rapine and bloodshed, at this period resumed their confidence; indulging the hope that they would be allowed a respite, while their oppressors were occupied with an external foe, and would be enabled to wreak their vengeance on the guilty, should the Romans be victorious.

3. John, meanwhile, though his partisans were burning with impatience to encounter the enemy outside, through fear of Simon, remained quiet. Simon, however, as he lay nearer the scene of attack, was not inactive. He disposed his engines upon the ramparts, as well those which had formerly been taken from Cestius, as those which had fallen into their hands when they mastered the garrison of the Antonia. The possession of these, however, was of no avail to the generality, owing to their unskilfulness: a few only who had been

instructed by the deserters, could work them, though inefficiently. But they assailed from the wall, with stones and arrows, those who were raising the mounds; and rushing out in bodies, engaged them in close combat. The workmen were protected from the darts by hurdles, stretched over palisades, while the engines defended them against the sallies of the besieged. Admirable as were the engines constructed by all the legions, those of the tenth were of peculiar excellence. Their scorpions were of greater power, and their stone-projectors larger; and with these they not only kept in check the sallying parties, but those also on the ramparts. The stones that were thrown were of the weight of a talent, and had a range of two furlongs and more. The shock, not only to such as first met it, but even to those beyond them, for a considerable distance, was irresistible. The Jews, however, at the first could guard against the stone; for its approach was intimated, not only to the ear by its whiz, but also, being white, to the eye, by its brightness. Accordingly they had watchmen posted on the towers, who gave warning when the engine was discharged, and the stone projected, calling out in their native language, "The Son is coming;" on which those towards whom it was directed would separate, and lie down before it reached them. Thus it happened that, owing to these precautions, the stone fell harmless. It then occurred to the Romans to blacken it; when taking a more successful aim, as it was no longer equally discernible in its approach, they swept down many at a single discharge. But, though suffering severely, the Jews did not allow the Romans to raise their mounds undisturbed, but by every species of artifice and daring, night and day, held them in check.

4. The works being completed, the engineers measured the distance to the wall with lead and line, which they threw from the mounds—for they could not accomplish it otherwise, as they were exposed to missiles from above;—and, finding that the battering-engines could reach it, they brought them up; on which Titus, having disposed his artillery nearer, that the operations of the battering-rams might not be impeded by those on the wall, ordered them to play. Suddenly, from three different quarters, a tremendous noise echoed round the city; a cry was raised by those within, and the factions themselves were seized with like alarm. Seeing that they were exposed to a common danger, both now turned their thoughts to a common defence. The adverse parties, crying aloud to each other, that "they were doing all they could to serve the enemy; whereas it was essential, even though God should not grant them permanent unanimity, for the present at least to defer their mutual contentions, and unite in arms against the

Romans," Simon proclaimed impunity to those who wished to pass from the temple to the wall; and John, though distrusting him, acquiesced. The two factions, therefore, burying in oblivion their hatred and private differences, became one body; and, disposing themselves around the ramparts, from thence threw showers of torches against the machines, and assailed, without intermission, those who impelled the storming engines. The more courageous, dashing out in bands, tore to pieces the hurdles of the machines, and falling on those employed at them, though they gained but little by skill, generally had the advantage from intrepid daring.

Titus always came up in person to succour those who were hard pressed, and disposing the horsemen and archers on either side of the engines, repelled those who were bringing up fire, drove back others who assailed them from the towers, and rendered the storming engines effective. The wall, however, did not yield to the strokes, save that the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion knocked down the corner of a tower. The wall, notwithstanding, remained uninjured; for it was not immediately involved in the danger of the tower, which projected considerably before it, and could not easily bring down with it any of the main wall.

5. The Jews, having paused for a little in their sallies, and watching their opportunity when the Romans, who imagined that they had retired through exhaustion and fear, were dispersed about the works and through their encampments, poured forth with their whole force through a gate scarcely discernible near the tower Hippieus, carrying fire to burn the works, and bent on advancing up to the very entrenchments of the Romans. At their shouts, those near instantly fell into order, while others from a distance ran up. The daring of the Jews, however, anticipated the discipline of the Romans, and having routed those whom they first encountered, they pressed hard on those who were forming in body. A terrible conflict now ensued around the engines, one party striving to set them on fire, the other to prevent them. On both sides a confused clamour arose, and many in the front ranks fell. The Jews by dint of desperate determination were gaining the mastery, and the flames were already laying hold upon the works; and the whole would in all probability have been reduced to ashes, together with the machines, had not the main body of the picked troops from Alexandria maintained their ground, acting with a gallantry which exceeded their reputation (for they proved their superiority on that occasion even to those of greater renown) until Cæsar, at the head of the most able-bodied of his cavalry, dashed upon the enemy. Twelve of the foremost he slew with his own hand;

the remainder, alarmed at their fate, giving way, he followed, and drove them all into the city, and rescued the works from the flames. One of the Jews, happening to be taken prisoner in this engagement, Titus commanded him to be crucified before the wall, in hope that the rest, terrified at the spectacle, might be led to surrender. After the retreat, John, the general of the Idumæans, while conversing in front of the ramparts with a soldier of his acquaintance, was wounded in the breast with an arrow by an Arabian, and instantly expired. His death was to the Jews a source of the deepest regret, as it was of sorrow to the insurgents; for he was equally distinguished for ability and resolution.

CHAPTER VII.

1. ON the ensuing night an unexpected commotion arose among the Romans. Titus had given directions for the construction of three towers fifty cubits high, to be placed upon the several mounds, in order that he might from them repel those on the ramparts. One of these fell of itself in the middle of the night. The crash was tremendous, and the troops, seized with terror, and supposing that the enemy were on the point of attacking them, all ran to arms. Dismay and confusion spread through the legions. What had occurred none could tell; and they were long left in painful suspense. But as no enemy appeared, they began to fear one another, and each anxiously demanded the pass-word from his neighbour, as if the Jews had been actually in their camp. Thus they continued, like men beset by a panic, until Titus, having learned what had happened, gave directions to make it generally known. And thus, though with difficulty, was the alarm allayed.

2. But, stoutly as the Jews held out against everything else, they suffered severely from the towers; whence they were shot at, as well by the lighter engines, as by the javelin-men, archers, and slingers. These they could not reach, owing to the height of their position; while to destroy the towers was impracticable, their weight making it no easy matter to overturn them, and the iron with which they were covered rendering it impossible to set them on fire. If, on the other hand, they withdrew beyond the range of the missiles, they could no longer impede the strokes of the battering-rams, which by their

unintermitted shocks were gradually taking effect. At length the wall began to give way before Nico (*the Conqueror*)—so the Jews themselves called the largest engine, from its beating down all before it;—they had long been completely worn out with passing their nights at a distance from the city, engaged in fighting and watching; and now, moreover, from an indolent spirit, and from the fatality which attended all their plans, they thought it superfluous to guard the wall, as two others would still remain: accordingly the greater part of them slackened in their exertions and retired; and, the Romans having mounted where Nico had effected a breach, they all abandoned their posts, and retreated to the second wall; when those who had scaled the ramparts opened the gates, and admitted the entire army. The Romans having thus, on the fifteenth day, which was the seventh of the month Artemisius, become masters of the first wall, laid a great part of it in ruins, as they did the northern quarters of the city, which Cestius had formerly demolished.

3. Titus now transferred his camp to a place within the wall, styled the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying the entire interval as far as the Kedron, but keeping at such a distance from the second rampart as to be out of range of the missiles, and immediately commenced the attack. The Jews, dividing their forces, made a vigorous defence from the wall; John and his party fighting from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the temple, and in front of the monuments of king Alexander; while Simon's band, intercepting the assault near John's monument, manned the intervening space as far as the gate through which the water was introduced to the tower Hippicus. Frequently rushing forth from the gates, they engaged hand to hand; and, when driven back to the wall, though defeated in close combat, owing to their ignorance of the Roman tactics, they had the advantage in their contests from the ramparts. Strength, combined with skill, encouraged the Romans: a daring spirit, nourished by fear, united with their natural fortitude under calamities, emboldened the Jews. They still cherished a hope of safety, as the Romans did of a speedy conquest. Fatigue was unfelt on either side; but attacks, and conflicts from the ramparts, and uninterrupted sallies in bands, wore out the day; nor was any species of warfare left untried. Commencing with the dawn, night scarcely parted them. On both sides night was a sleepless time, and still more oppressive than the day; the one party in dread every moment lest the wall should be taken, the other afraid that their antagonists would assail their camp. Thus passing the night in arms, both were ready for battle at the first break of day.

Among the Jews the strife was, who should lead the way to danger, and thus recommend himself to his officers. And such was the reverence and awe with which they regarded Simon in particular, and such the deference paid him by every one of those under his orders, that they were ready to a man, even to die by their own hand at his command. The Romans, on the other hand, were incited to valour by the habit of victory, and desuetude of defeat, by repeated campaigns, by uninterrupted exercises, by the vastness of their empire, and, above all, by Titus, who was ever and everywhere present with all. For, then to play the coward, when Cæsar was with them and fighting at their side, seemed dreadful; and he who fought bravely had one to witness his valour who would also reward it. Nay, it was an advantage even to be known to Cæsar as a gallant soldier. On this account many in their enthusiasm distinguished themselves beyond their natural powers.

Thus about this time, when the Jews on one occasion had drawn up in a strong compact body before the wall, and while the armies on both sides were as yet engaged in distant combat, Longinus, a cavalry soldier, rushed forward from the Roman lines, and dashed into the midst of the Jewish phalanx. Their ranks were broken by his charge, and two of the bravest fell beneath his arm. The one he pierced in front as he advanced against him; the other, when endeavouring to escape, he transfixes through the side with the spear which he drew from the body of his comrade. He then retreated in triumph to his own party out of the midst of his foes. So distinguished, accordingly, was the reputation he acquired for valour by this exploit, that many were led to emulate his gallantry.

The Jews, regardless of suffering, studied only what injury they could inflict; and death itself seemed light indeed to them, could they but involve an enemy in their fall. But Cæsar regarded not less the safety of his soldiers than the success of his arms; and pronouncing inconsiderate impetuosity mere desperation, and that alone to be valour which was coupled with forethought, and a care for the safety of the actor, he ordered his troops to run no personal risk with a view to show their bravery.

4. He now brought up the storming-engine against the central tower of the northern wall, where one of the Jews, a crafty fellow, by name Castor, lay in ambush with ten others of like character, the rest having been driven off by the archers. For some time these men remained quiet, crouched beneath the breastworks; but as the tower began to totter, they rose up, when Castor, stretching out his hands in an attitude of supplication, called on Cæsar, and in piteous

accents implored his clemency. Titus, in the simplicity of his heart, believed him, and hoping that the Jews were at length beginning to repent, stopped the playing of the ram, and forbade the archers to shoot at the suppliants. He then directed Castor to acquaint him with his wishes. The Jew replying that he desired to come down under promise of protection, Titus answered that he was delighted at his prudent resolve, but would be still more so, if all were similarly inclined, and he was ready to give a pledge of protection to the whole city. Five of the ten joined in the pretended supplication, the others cried out, that they would never be the vassals of the Romans, so long as it was permitted them to die free. And the dispute being prolonged for a considerable time, the assault was thereby suspended.

Meanwhile Castor, sending to Simon, told him to deliberate at his leisure on the measures which the emergency demanded, as he could keep the Roman general in play for a considerable time. But while forwarding this message, he was to all appearance urging the recusants to accept the proffered pledge. They on the other hand, as if moved with indignation, brandished their naked swords above the battlements, and, striking their breast-plates, fell down as if slain. Titus and those about him, filled with amazement at the fortitude of the men, and being unable accurately to see from below what had taken place, admired their courage, and compassionated their fate.

During this parley, Castor was wounded near the nose by an arrow. Drawing it out immediately, and showing it to Titus, he complained of unjust treatment. Cæsar sternly rebuked the archer, and directed Josephus, who was standing beside him, to go forward and offer Castor protection. But Josephus not only declined going himself, assured that the suppliants had no good purpose, but also restrained those of his friends who were anxious to execute the order. Æneas however, one of the deserters, said that he would go; and Castor calling out for some one to receive the money which he had brought with him, Æneas, opening the folds of his robe, ran towards him with the greater eagerness. Castor, meanwhile, taking up a stone, threw it at Æneas, who dexterously avoided it; but it wounded another soldier who had come up. Cæsar, seeing through the trick, became sensible that in war compassion is injurious, rigorous measures affording less room for artifice; and, angry at this mockery, ordered the engines to be worked with greater vigour. The tower giving way, Castor and his associates set fire to it, and, leaping through the flame into the vault underneath, again inspired the Romans, who concluded that they had plunged into the fire, with an exalted idea of their fortitude.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. ON the fifth day after the reduction of the first wall Cæsar stormed the second at this point; and as the Jews fled from it, he entered with a thousand men, and the select band which he retained about his person, at that part of the new town where were the wool-marts, the braziers' shops, and the clothes-market, and where the streets led obliquely to the ramparts. Had he immediately either broken down a larger portion of the wall, or, by right of war, on his entrance, laid in ruins what he had made himself master of, no loss, I conceive, would have attended his conquest. But, in the hope that his reluctance to injure, though it was in his power to do so, would shame the Jews, he did not widen the breach to facilitate a retreat; supposing that those whom he treated with kindness would harbour no designs against him.

On entering, therefore, he would not allow any of those who fell into his hands to be put to death, or their houses burned. To the insurgents, if they were willing to fight without damage to the people, he offered permission to do so; while, at the same time, he promised the people to restore their property. For he made it a leading object to preserve the city for himself, and the temple for the city. The people indeed had long been ready to listen to his representations; but to the warlike his humanity seemed weakness, and these overtures were regarded as proofs of his inability to reduce the remainder of the town. Threatening death to any of the populace who should breathe a word about a surrender, and butchering all who even casually spoke of peace, they attacked the Romans who had entered. Some confronted them in the streets, some assailed them from the houses; while others, rushing forth without the wall through the upper gates, so disconcerted the guards at the ramparts, that they sprang down from the towers and retreated to their camp. Loud cries arose from those within, who were surrounded by enemies on all sides, and from those without, in alarm for their comrades who had been left behind.

The Jews, constantly increasing in numbers, and possessing many advantages in their knowledge of the streets, wounded many of the enemy, and drove them before them by repeated charges; while the Romans continued to resist mainly from sheer necessity, as they could not escape in mass owing to the narrowness of the breach; and, had

not Titus brought up fresh succours, all who had entered would probably have been cut down. Stationing his archers at the ends of the streets, and taking post himself where the enemy were in greatest force, he kept them at bay with missiles; Domitius Sabinus, who in this engagement, as in others, showed himself a brave man, aiding his exertions. Cæsar held his ground, plying his arrows incessantly, and checking the advance of the Jews, until the last of the soldiers had retired.

2. Thus were the Romans, after gaining possession of the second wall, driven out. The spirits of the war party in the city, elated by this success, rose to the highest pitch; for they were persuaded that the Romans would not again venture into the town, and that, if they advanced to battle themselves, they would be invincible. For God was blinding their minds because of their transgressions; and they neither perceived how much greater was the force which the Romans still had left than that which had been expelled, nor the famine that was creeping upon them. For they still could feed upon the public miseries, and drink the blood of the city. The good had long been suffering from want, and many were already sinking under a scarcity of necessaries; but the destruction of the people the factions deemed a relief to themselves. For they desired that those alone should be preserved who were averse to peace, and wished for life only to employ it against the Romans; and they rejoiced in the wasting away of the opposite party, regarding them as a mere encumbrance. Such were their feelings towards those within; while, having manned the breach, and walled it up with their bodies, they checked the Romans, who were again attempting an entrance.

For three days they kept the enemy at bay, maintaining a stout defence; but on the fourth, unable to withstand the intrepid assaults of Titus, they were obliged to fall back in the same direction as before. He, accordingly, once more became master of the wall, the whole northern division of which he immediately threw down; and, having placed garrisons in the towers of the southern quarter, he turned his thoughts to an attack on the third.

CHAPTER IX.

1. **TITUS** now determined for a short time to suspend the operations, and afford the insurgents an interval for deliberation, if perchance the demolition of the second wall, or the dread of famine, might induce them to surrender, as the fruits of rapine could not long support them. The cessation he employed for his own purposes. The stated day for distributing pay among the troops having arrived, he directed the officers to draw out the force, and count out the money to each man in view of the enemy. The men, as was the custom, taking their arms from the cases in which they had hitherto been covered, advanced in their accoutrements; the cavalry leading their horses decked out in their trappings.

The space in front of the city gleamed far and wide with silver and gold; and nothing could be more gratifying to the Romans, or more terrifying to the enemy, than that spectacle. The whole of the ancient wall and the northern quarter of the temple were crowded with spectators, and the houses were to be seen filled with people on the look-out; nor was there a spot in the city which was not covered with multitudes. When they beheld the entire force thus assembled in one place, and the beauty of their arms, and the admirable order of the men, even the most daring were struck with fearful dismay. And I cannot but persuade myself that at that sight the insurgents would have changed their measures, had not the excessive calamities which they had inflicted on the people led them to despair of pardon from the Romans. But, as punishment and death impended if they desisted, they thought it far better to die in battle. And fate prevailed to destroy the innocent with the guilty, and the city with the sedition.

2. In four days the several legions of the Romans had all received their pay. On the fifth, as no pacific overtures had come from the Jews, Titus formed the legions into two divisions, and commenced raising embankments, both at the Antonia and at John's monument. At the latter point he designed to carry the upper town, and the temple through the former; for, unless the temple was secured, the city could not be retained without danger. Accordingly he proceeded to erect two mounds at each of these two places, one being allotted to each legion. Those at work beside the monument the Idumæans, and the troops of Simon, impeded by repeated sallies;

while those before the Antonia were obstructed by John and his associates, in conjunction with the Zealots.

Success attended their efforts, not only in hand-to-hand encounters, where they fought from higher ground, but with their engines also, which they had now learned to use, daily practice having gradually fostered their skill. They had three hundred scorpions and forty stone-projectors, by means of which they rendered the construction of the mounds a matter of greater difficulty to the Romans. Titus, feeling that he was as deeply interested in the preservation as in the destruction of the city, omitted not, while he pressed the siege, to urge more prudent counsels on the Jews. With his operations he blended advice: and, sensible that an address is oftentimes more effectual than arms, he not only exhorted them himself to consult their safety by the surrender of the city, which was indeed already taken, but also despatched Josephus to confer with them in their native language:—thinking that possibly they might yield to the remonstrances of a fellow-countryman.

3. Josephus, accordingly, making a circuit of the wall, and endeavouring to find some spot, beyond the range of missiles, where he might still be within hearing, at great length entreated them “to spare themselves, and the people;—to spare their country and their temple;—and not manifest towards them a greater apathy than was exhibited by foreigners. The Romans,” he said, “though not participating in them, respected the sacred things of their enemies, and had thus far withheld their hands from them; whilst those who had been brought up in them and, should they be preserved, would alone enjoy them, were bent on their destruction. Their firmest walls they saw prostrate, and that alone remaining, which was weaker than those which had fallen. They knew that the power of the Romans was irresistible, and that to serve them was no novelty to the Jews. If, indeed, to wage war for freedom were honourable, they should have contended for it earlier; but when once they had succumbed, and had for so long a period submitted, then to shake off the yoke, was the part of men who morbidly courted death, not of lovers of liberty.

“To disdain humbler masters were perhaps admissible; but not those who ruled the world. For what had escaped the Romans, except perhaps some spot useless through heat or cold? Fortune had everywhere passed over to them; and God, who carries the sceptre of empire round from nation to nation, was now resting over Italy. It was an established law, and of the greatest force among brutes, as among men, to yield to the more powerful, and that the ascendancy should belong to those who are preeminent in arms.

"Accordingly, their ancestors, who were much superior in mind and body, as well as in resources generally, had submitted to the Romans;—a thing they never would have endured, had they not known that God was with them. As to themselves, what did they confide in to induce them still to resist, when for the most part their city was already taken, and when those within it, though their walls remained, were suffering under a worse calamity than capture? For it did not escape the Romans that there raged in the town a famine, which was now consuming the people, but would soon consume those who bore arms as well. For even should the Romans desist from the siege and not attack the city sword in hand, a war beyond the strife of arms pressed upon them within, every hour gathering strength, unless indeed they could raise their weapons and fight against famine, and were able, alone of men, to subdue even the claims of nature."

He added, moreover, that "it would be well to alter their proceedings ere their calamities became irremediable, and lean to salutary counsels while opportunity remained. The Romans would bear no grudge against them for what had occurred, if they did not persevere in their contumacy; for they were naturally lenient in victory, and to the gratification of their resentment would prefer measures of utility—measures which were incompatible alike with depopulating the city, and with reducing the country to a desert. It was for these reasons that Cæsar, even at this late period, wished to grant them protection. For should he take the city by storm, he would slaughter them to a man, and especially as having rejected his offers when in the lowest depths of calamity. That the third wall would be quickly carried, those which had already fallen gave proof. But even were that bulwark impregnable, the famine was fighting for the Romans and against them."

4. Josephus, while thus persuading them, was by many, derided from the ramparts, by many loaded with execrations, and by some assailed with missiles. Finding that these direct recommendations were disregarded, he passed to the history of their nation. "Miserable men!" he cried; "are you so unmindful of your own proper allies, as to war against the Romans with mere weapons and human hands? What other nation have we thus conquered? When does God, who created, fail to avenge the Jews, if they be wronged? Will you not look back and see what that place is from which you issue forth to battle, and how mighty an Ally you have polluted? Will you not recall to mind supernatural exploits of your fathers, and remember what mighty enemies this holy place has in by-gone times destroyed for us?"

“ For my own part, I shudder when declaring the works of God to such unworthy ears. But listen, nevertheless, that you may know that you war not only against the Romans, but even against God. Nechaos, who bore also the name of Pharaoh, at that time king of Egypt, came down with a prodigious band and carried off queen Sarah, the mother of our race. And what, then, did her husband Abraham, our progenitor? Did he take vengeance on the ravisher with the sword?—and yet he had three hundred and eighteen prefects under him, each at the head of a countless host. Or did he deem them nothing, if unaided by God, and, uplifting pure hands towards this place, which you have now polluted, enlist the unconquered Supporter on his side? And was not our queen sent back the next morning, uninjured, to her consort; while the Egyptian, revering the place which you have stained with the blood of your countrymen, and terrified by nocturnal visions, fled, making presents of silver and gold to the Hebrews, beloved of God? Shall I pass in silence, or allude to, the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, lorded over, and cowering under kings of alien birth for four hundred years, when they might have vindicated their cause with their weapons and their hands, yet committed themselves to God?

“ Who has not heard of Egypt overrun by every kind of creature, and wasted with every disease?—of the land yielding no fruit, the Nile failing, the ten successive plagues?—of our fathers, because of these things, sent forth under escort, without bloodshed and without danger, God conducting them as the future guardians of his temple? Did not Palestine, moreover, and the graven image Dagon, rue our holy ark carried off by the Assyrians? Did not the whole nation of those who had removed it rue the deed, ulcerated in their loins, and their bowels borne down with their food, till, with the hands with which they stole it, they brought it back, with sound of cymbals and of timbrels, and with various expiations propitiating the sanctuary? God it was who in these matters was a leader to our fathers, because, employing neither hand nor weapon, they committed the issue to His decision. When Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, with all Asia in his train, encamped around this city, fell he by human hands? Were not those hands, resting from arms, lifted up in prayer, and did not an angel of God, in one night, destroy that countless host? And when the Assyrian arose in the morning, did he not find a hundred and eighty-five thousand dead, and with the remnant flee from the Hebrews, who were neither armed, nor in pursuit?

“ You have heard, moreover, of the captivity in Babylon, and that our people, after passing seventy years there in exile, did not shake

off the yoke and recover their liberty, until Cyrus granted it in gratitude to God. They were accordingly sent forth by him, and re-established the temple-worship of their Ally. In fine, no instance can be adduced of our ancestors having triumphed by arms, or failed of success without them, when they committed their cause to God. When they remained within their own borders, they conquered, as seemed good to their Judge; when they took the field, they were invariably defeated. Thus, when the king of Babylon laid siege to this city, Zedekiah, our sovereign, having, contrary to the prophetic warnings of Jeremiah, given him battle, was taken prisoner himself, and saw the city and the temple levelled with the ground. Yet, how much more forbearing was that prince than your rulers, and his subjects than you! For, though Jeremiah proclaimed aloud that they were hateful to God for their transgressions against him, and that they would be carried away captive if they did not surrender the city, neither the king nor the people put him to death. But you, to pass by what has occurred within the walls—for I should be unable adequately to describe your enormities—heap execrations on me, who exhort you to save yourselves, and assail me with missiles, exasperated at being reminded of your misdeeds, and not brooking even the mention of those things, the realities of which you daily perpetrate.

“ Again, when our ancestors went forth in arms against Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who was then sitting down before the city, and who had been guilty of many indignities towards the Deity, they were cut to pieces in the battle, and the city plundered by the enemy, and the sanctuary left desolate three years and six months. But why need I speak of other instances? Who enlisted the Romans against our country? Was it not the impiety of its inhabitants? And whence took our servitude its rise? Was it not in a sedition of our ancestors, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and their mutual dissensions, brought Pompey upon the city, and God subjected to the Romans those who were unworthy of liberty? Accordingly, after a siege of three months they surrendered, though they had not sinned against the laws and the sanctuary so grievously as you, and though they possessed much greater resources for war. And do we not know the fate of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, under whose reign God again vexed the people for their transgressions by the capture of the city; and Herod, son of Antipater, brought in Sosius, and Sosius the Roman army, by whom they were shut up in siege during six months, until in retribution for their sins they were captured, and the city plundered by the enemy?

“Thus it appears, that arms have never been granted to our nation. To war is to incur inevitable disaster. For, doubtless, it is the duty of those who inhabit a holy place to commit all to the Divine disposal, and, when they seek to conciliate the Judge on high, then to look with contempt on human aid. But as for you, what have you done that has been blessed by the Lawgiver? Or what have you left undone that has been cursed by Him? How much more impious are you than those who were more speedily subdued! Secret sins you have not disdained—thefts, I mean, and treacheries, and adulteries—while in rapine and murders you vie with each other, and cut out for yourselves new and strange paths of malignity. The temple is become a receptacle for all, and by native hands has this divine place been polluted, which even the Romans from afar revered, foregoing many of their own customs in deference to our law. And do you after this expect Him, thus impiously treated, to be your ally? Verily, ye are righteous suppliants, and with unsullied hands do ye appeal to your Defender! With such, I ween, our king besought aid against the Assyrian, when in one night God laid low that mighty host! And, doubtless, the deeds of the Romans are like those of the Assyrian, that you may hope for like vengeance also! Did not he receive money from your sovereign, on condition that he would spare the city, and then come down, in violation of his oaths, to burn the sanctuary? Whereas the Romans do but ask the customary tribute, which our fathers paid to theirs. Obtaining this, they neither destroy the city, nor touch the holy things. They concede to you every thing else—the freedom of your families, the security of your property, and the preservation of the sacred laws. It is madness, then, to expect that God should appear against the just, such as He did against the unjust.

“But, further, He knows how to inflict immediate vengeance, when necessary. Thus, He broke the Assyrians in pieces on the very first night of their encampment. So that, had He judged our generation also worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, He would at once, as He did to the Assyrians, have laid His hand upon them, when Pompey interfered with our nation;—when, after him, Sosius came up;—when Vespasian was ravaging Galilee; and, lastly, now when Titus was approaching Jerusalem. And yet Magnus and Sosius, besides sustaining no injury, even carried the city by assault; while Vespasian actually entered on the imperial dignity in consequence of the war against you. For as for Titus, those very springs flow more copiously for him, which had previously dried up for you. For prior to his arrival, as you know, Siloam and all the fountains outside the

city had failed, insomuch that water was sold by the amphora ; while now they are so abundant for your enemies, as to suffice not only for themselves, and their cattle, but even for the gardens. This prodigy you experienced on a former occasion at the capture of the city, when the Babylonian before mentioned advanced with his army, and took and burned both the city and the sanctuary : though, in my opinion, the Jews of that age were not so deeply impious as you. I cannot, therefore, but think that God has withdrawn from the holy places, and taken His stand on the side of those against whom you are now in arms.

“ But shall a good man flee from the abode of wantonness, and abhor its inmates ? and do you persuade yourselves that God still remains with you in your evil courses—that God who sees all secret things, and hears what is buried in silence ? Yet what is there buried in silence among you, or what concealed ? Nay ; what is there that has not been exposed to your very foes ? For you make an ostentatious display of your enormities, and daily contend who shall be the worst ; making an exhibition of your iniquity as if it were virtue.

“ But, nevertheless, a path of safety is yet left, if you will. The City is easily pacified towards those who confess and repent. Oh ! iron-hearted men ! throw away your weapons ; take compassion upon your country, already on the point of destruction ! Turn, and behold the beauty of that which you are betraying ;—what a city ! what a temple ! the gifts of how many nations ! Against these, who guides the flames ? Who wishes that these should be no more ? And what more worthy of being preserved than these ? Obdurate beings, and more insensible than stones ! Even if you look not on these objects with the eyes of natural affection, yet at any rate pity your families, and let each of you have before his eyes children, and wife, and parents, ere long to be the victims of famine or of war.

“ I am aware, that I have a mother, a wife, a family not ignoble, and an ancient and illustrious house, involved in the danger ; and I may perhaps be thought on their account to tender you this advice. Put them to death ; take my blood as the price of your own safety ; I too am ready to die, if after my decease you will learn wisdom.”

CHAPTER X.

1. **THOUGH** Josephus thus with tears loudly appealed to them, the insurgents were neither moved to yield, nor deemed a change of measures safe. The people, however, were stimulated to desertion; and selling, some their property, others the most valuable of their treasures, for the smallest trifle, would swallow the gold pieces, that they might not be discovered by the brigands; and then, flying to the Romans, on discharging their bowels, they had a supply for their necessities; for Titus gave the greater part of them free passage into the country, whithersoever they would; and this the rather encouraged them to desertion, as they would be relieved from the evils within, and yet not enslaved by the Romans. The parties of John and Simon, however, guarded with greater diligence against the egress of these, than against the ingress of the Romans: and whoever furnished but a shadow of suspicion was instantly dispatched.

2. To the opulent, however, to remain in the city was equally fatal; for, under pretext of desertion, men were put to death for the sake of their property. The desperation of the insurgents kept pace with the progress of the famine; and both of these dread evils were daily more and more aggravated. For, as corn was nowhere exposed for sale, they would rush in and ransack the houses, and then, if any was discovered, they severely punished the owners as having denied the possession of it; if none was found, they tortured them as having the more carefully concealed it. The personal appearance of the unhappy men was a criterion of having it or not. If they were still vigorous, it was inferred that they had a supply; if emaciated, they were at once allowed to pass; and it was thought irrational to kill those who were soon to perish from hunger. Many privately exchanged all they were worth for a single measure of wheat, if they were rich; of barley, if they were poor. Then, shutting themselves up in the most retired recesses of their houses, some, from extremity of hunger, would eat the grain unprepared; others would cook it according as necessity and fear dictated. A table was nowhere spread, but, snatching the dough half-baked from the fire, they tore it in pieces.

3. Piteous was the way in which men lived, and deplorable the spectacle; the strong taking more than their share, the weak com-

plaining. Famine overpowers all affections of the mind; but of none is it so subversive as of shame. What would at other times awaken reverence is in time of famine treated with contempt. Thus, wives would snatch the food from husbands, children from parents, and, what was of all most pitiable, mothers from the very mouths of their infants: and while these objects of their tenderest love were drooping in their arms, they did not scruple to deprive them of the vital drops. Nor, while eating such things, did they escape detection. Everywhere the insurgents hovered even over the booty thus acquired. When they observed a house shut up, this was an indication that the inmates were taking food; and forthwith bursting open the doors, they rushed in, and squeezing the morsels almost out of their very throats, brought them up again. Old men were beaten, clutching their food, and women were dragged about by the hair, concealing what they had in their hands. Neither for the hoary head, nor for infancy, was compassion shown; but, lifting up children with the morsels to which they clung, they dashed them to the ground. To those who had anticipated their irruption, and had already swallowed their intended spoil, they were still more cruel, as having been defrauded of their right.

They devised dreadful modes of torture for the discovery of food; and treated their wretched victims with the utmost brutality. To extort the acknowledgment of a single loaf of bread, or to make them show where a single handful of barley-meal was secreted, they subjected them to tortures, the very recital of which would make one shudder. And yet these torturers were not themselves suffering from hunger: their cruelty would have been less, had it had the plea of necessity. They were but whetting their frenzy, and providing supplies against a future day. They would go to meet those who had crept out by night as far as the Roman guard, to gather wild plants and herbs, and, at the moment when they fancied themselves out of reach of the enemy, snatch from them what they had procured. And oftentimes, though they implored them, invoking even the awful name of God, to return a portion of what they had obtained at the peril of their lives, the smallest morsel was refused them; and they had reason to congratulate themselves, that, while robbed, they were not also killed.

4. Such were the sufferings inflicted on the humbler classes by the satellites; but the distinguished and affluent were brought before the tyrants. Of these, some were falsely accused of conspiracy, and executed: others, as designing to betray the city to the Romans. But the readiest method was, to suborn some informer to declare

that they had resolved to desert. He who had been stripped by Simon was turned over to John; and those who had been plundered by John fell into the hands of Simon. They pledged each other in turn in the blood of the populace, and shared among them the carcasses of their wretched victims. On the subject of pre-eminence they were at variance: in deeds of impiety they were agreed. For he who allowed no one to participate in the spoils of others' woes was deemed selfishly wicked: and he who did not participate mourned over his severance from the work of cruelty, as from some good.

5. But as it were impossible to relate their enormities in detail, I shall briefly state, that no other city ever endured similar calamities, and no generation ever existed more prolific in crime. For in the end they even disdained the Hebrew race, that they might appear less impious towards aliens. They confessed themselves to be, what they were, slaves, and the very dregs of society, the spurious and polluted spawn of the nation. They it was who overthrew the city, and compelled the reluctant Romans to record a melancholy triumph, and all but drew upon the temple the tardy flames. Nay, while from the upper town they beheld it burning, they neither grieved nor wept, though the Romans gave both these proofs of emotion. But of this we shall speak hereafter in its place, when we come to describe the circumstances.

CHAPTER XI.

1. MEANTIME the mounds were advancing under the superintendence of Titus, though the soldiers were severely galled from the ramparts. He now sent a detachment of horse to lie in ambush for those who went out through the ravines in quest of food. Among them were some who bore arms, and who were no longer satisfied with their plunder; but the greater part were of the poorer class, who were deterred from deserting by fears for their families. For they could not hope to elude the vigilance of the factions, if they attempted to escape with wives and children, nor could they endure to leave them to the brigands, to be butchered on their account. In these adventures, however, famine rendered them daring; and it remained for them, after proceeding unobserved as far as the enemy's

lines, to be taken prisoners. When caught, they resisted from necessity through dread of punishment; and after a conflict it seemed unseasonable to sue for mercy. Scourged, therefore, and tortured in every form, previous to death, they were crucified in front of the ramparts. Titus indeed looked upon their sufferings with compassion; five hundred each day, and occasionally more, being captured. Still, to dismiss those taken in arms he deemed unsafe; while to retain so many in custody he saw would be to place the guards themselves under ward. But what chiefly weighed with him was the hope that the Jews might possibly surrender at the spectacle, lest otherwise they should themselves be visited with similar punishment. The soldiers, through resentment and hatred, nailed the prisoners, for sport, one in one posture, and one in another; and so great was their number, that there was not space for the crosses, nor were there crosses for the bodies.

2. But so far were the insurgents from relenting at these sufferings, that they seduced the multitude into the belief that they were inflicted from the very opposite motive. For, dragging the relatives of the deserters to the wall, with such of the populace as were anxious to accept the proffered protection, they showed them what was endured by those who sought refuge with the Romans; stating that those who had been seized were suppliants, not captives. This, until the truth was known, detained in the city many who were eager to desert. Some, notwithstanding, fled immediately, as to certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies a relief in comparison with famine. Titus, moreover, gave orders to cut off the hands of many of those who had been taken captive, that they might not be regarded as deserters, and that their calamity might attach credit to their story, and then sent them in to John and Simon, exhorting them, "now at least to pause, and not compel him to lay the city in ruins; but by repentance in the last extremity to preserve their own lives, and a city so distinguished, and a temple not to be profaned by aliens." At the same time he went the circuit of the mounds, urging on the workmen, as purposing ere long to follow up his threats with actions.

In reply to this message, they inveighed from the ramparts both against Cæsar himself and against his father; crying aloud that they despised death, having rightly preferred it to slavery; that while they breathed they would inflict every possible injury on the Romans; that men, who, as he said, were so soon to perish, need care little for their country: and that the world was a more suitable temple for God than theirs. But this would yet be preserved by Him who

dwelt therein; and, having Him for their ally, they derided every menace unsupported by actions; for the event was with God." With these retorts they intermixed loud invectives.

3. In the meantime Antiochus Epiphanes arrived with a considerable reinforcement of heavy-armed men, and among them a body-guard of Macedonians, so called, all of the same age, tall, just emerged from puberty, accoutred, moreover, and disciplined after the Macedonian fashion; from which circumstance in fact they derived their appellation, most of them not possessing the right of birth. Of all the monarchs who owned the Roman sway, the king of Commagene enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity, ere he tasted reverse. Yet in advanced life he also furnished proof that none should be pronounced happy before death. His son, who had arrived while his father's fortunes were at their zenith, expressed his surprise that the Romans should be so dilatory in attacking the ramparts. Endowed with a martial spirit, and by nature adventurous, he was withal so athletic, that his daring was seldom unsuccessful. Titus replying with a smile, "There is a fair field for everybody," Antiochus rushed, without further preparation, at the head of his Macedonians, to the wall. Such was his own personal strength and skill, that he could ward off the missiles of the Jews, while assailing them with his arrows: but his young comrades in arms, with few exceptions, were all roughly handled. For, through respect for their engagement, they maintained the contest with emulous ardour, and at length retired, many of them wounded, and bearing in mind that even genuine Macedonians, if they are to conquer, must have Alexander's fortune.

4. Though the Romans commenced their mounds on the twelfth of the month Artemisius, they were scarcely completed on the twenty-ninth, after seventeen days of unremitted toil. For the four mounds which were raised were of immense magnitude. One of those at the Antonia was thrown up by the fifth legion, opposite to the middle of the reservoir called Struthios; and the other by the twelfth legion at the distance of about twenty cubits. The tenth legion, which was considerably apart from these, was occupied on the northern quarter, and by the reservoir designated Amygdalon; and about thirty cubits from thence the fifteenth legion, at the high-priest's monument.

The engines were at length brought up. John had already undermined from within the space between the Antonia and the mounds, supporting the ground above the excavation with upright beams, so as to leave the works of the Romans suspended. He now introduced timber smeared with pitch and bitumen, and set the mass on fire; and, the supports being consumed, the mine gave way in a mass, and the

mounds fell in with a tremendous crash. At first dense volumes of smoke arose, intermingled with the dust, the fire being smothered by the ruins; but at length, the materials which repressed it being eaten through, a vivid flame burst forth. The Romans were struck with consternation at this sudden blow, and disheartened by the ingenuity of the contrivance: and this, occurring when they already fancied victory within their grasp, damped their hopes of ultimate success. To attempt to arrest the flames seemed useless, when, even should they be extinguished, the mounds were swallowed up.

5. Two days after, Simon and his party made an effort to destroy the other mounds also; for the Romans had brought up their engines in that quarter, and were already shaking the wall. One Tephthæus of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one of Mariamne's state-attendants, snatching up torches, rushed out upon the engines, accompanied by an Adiabedian, son of Nabatæus, called from his misfortune Chagiras, which signifies lame. Than these men none more daring, during that war, sallied from the town, or inspired deeper terror; for, as if running out into the midst of friends, and not on a hostile band, they neither feared, nor paused, nor turned aside; but, dashing in through the midst of the foe, they applied the torches to the machines. Though assailed with missiles, and thrust at with swords on every side, they moved not from the scene of danger, until the fire had seized the engines. The flames now ascending, the Romans ran in a mass from their encampments to the rescue; while the Jews opposed them from the ramparts, and hand to hand, and prodigal of their own lives, encountered those who were endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration.

The Romans sought to drag the rams out of the fire, the hurdles over them being in a blaze; while the Jews, heedless of the flames, seized them in turn, and grasping the iron of the ram, red-hot as it was, maintained their hold. From the machines the fire passed over to the mounds, and forestalled those who were coming to the defence; on which the Romans, encircled by the flames, and despairing of the preservation of the works, retired to their camp. The Jews, their numbers continually augmenting, as those in the town crowded to their aid, pressed on, and, flushed with success, dashed forward with uncontrolled impetuosity: and, advancing to the very entrenchments, engaged at length hand to hand with the sentries.

In front of a Roman camp is stationed a body of men under arms, who are relieved in turn, and with regard to whom there is a severe law, that he who quits his post under any pretext whatsoever dies. These men, accordingly, preferring rather to fall with honour than

suffer with infamy, stood firm. Ashamed at the critical position in which their comrades were placed, many who had fled returned, and, disposing the scorpions along the wall, checked the crowd of recruits issuing from the town, who had made no provision either for safety or defence; for the Jews attacked hand to hand all they met with, and, rushing bodily on the points of their weapons, heedless of their own safety, struck at their antagonists. And success attended their efforts, not more from their deeds, than their intrepidity; the Romans giving way to daring, rather than from actual loss.

6. Titus now arrived from the Antonia, whither he had repaired to look out for a site for other mounds, and severely reprimanded his troops. "After making themselves masters of the enemy's fortifications, they had allowed their own to be endangered, and were themselves in the predicament of a besieged force, having let loose the Jews as from a prison against themselves." He then with his picked band made a circuit, and took the enemy in flank. The Jews, though attacked in front as well, yet turned and resolutely faced him. The hostile ranks became intermixed, and, blinded by the dust and deafened by the clamour, neither side could any longer distinguish friend from foe. The Jews, not so much by strength, as from despair of safety, maintained the action: regard for glory, for their arms, and for Cæsar foremost in danger, nerved the Romans. So that I am persuaded, that, in the excess of their rage, they would at length have swept away the entire Jewish host, had not the latter, anticipating the turn of the engagement, retreated into the city. Their mounds, however, having been demolished, the Romans were dejected, having lost in one hour the fruit of their protracted toil; and many were led to despair of carrying the town by the ordinary contrivances.

CHAPTER XII.

1. Titus now held a consultation with his officers. The more ardent were of opinion that he should bring up his entire force, and endeavour to carry the ramparts by storm; for hitherto a section only of his army had been engaged with the Jews, but were they to attack them in mass, they would not be able to resist their onset, as they would be overwhelmed by the missiles. Of the more cautious, some were for reconstructing the mounds; whilst others advised, that,

letting these alone, they should sit down, guarding merely against the egress of the besieged, and the introduction of supplies; and leaving the city to the famine, avoid any direct collision with the foe. For there was no contending with men actuated by despair, whose prayer it was, that they might fall by the sword, and to whom was reserved, were that prayer unanswered, a more disastrous fate.

To Titus, however, it seemed unbecoming to remain totally inactive with so large a force, while, to contend with men who would soon destroy each other, appeared superfluous. He at the same time pointed out the difficulty of throwing up mounds, from the want of materials, and the still greater difficulty of guarding against the sallies of the besieged. "To encompass the city with his army, from its great extent, and from obstacles of situation, would not be easy; besides that it would lay them open to the attacks of the enemy. They might guard the open approaches, but the Jews, through necessity, and knowledge of the localities, would discover hidden paths; and, should provisions be clandestinely introduced, the siege would be still further protracted. Delay, it was to be feared, would diminish the glory of success: for though time could accomplish everything, yet celerity was essential to renown. If, however, they wished to combine expedition with safety, they must throw a wall of circumvallation round the whole city; for thus alone could all the outlets be obstructed; and the Jews would then either surrender the city, in utter despair of preservation, or, wasted by famine, yield an easy triumph. As to other matters, he would not remain inactive, but would be careful to re-construct the mounds, when those who might oppose their progress had become enfeebled. If it seemed to any a great and arduous undertaking, let him reflect, that it ill-beseemed Romans to employ themselves in aught that was trivial; and that to accomplish any thing great without labour was no easy thing for any save God alone."

2. Having with these arguments satisfied the minds of his officers, he ordered them to distribute the troops to the work. The soldiers, seized with preternatural enthusiasm, partitioned the circuit of the wall, and not only the legions, but also the cohorts which composed them, vied with one another. The private studied to please the decurion, the decurion the centurion, and he the tribune; while the emulation of the tribunes extended to the generals: Cæsar himself presiding over the rivalry of these; for he went round in person frequently every day, and inspected the work. Commencing at the camp of the Assyrians, where his own tent was pitched, he drew the wall to the lower Cænopolis, and thence through the Kedron to the

Mount of Olives. Then bending back towards the south, he encompassed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the adjoining hill, which overhangs the ravine near Siloam. Thence inclining towards the west, he went down into the valley of the Fountain, beyond which he ascended by the monument of the high-priest Ananus, and, taking in the mount where Pompey encamped, turned to the north, proceeding as far as a hamlet, called "the house of Erebinths;" passing which, he enclosed Herod's monument, and on the east once more united it to his own camp at the point whence it commenced.

The wall was in length forty furlongs, wanting one. Attached to it on the outside were thirteen forts, whose united circumferences measured ten furlongs. The whole was built in three days; and thus a work, which might well have occupied months, was completed with a celerity that exceeds belief. Having enclosed the city with a wall, and placed troops in the forts, he went round in person at the first watch of the night, and made his observations; the second he committed to Alexander; while the third was allotted to the commanders of the legions. The sentries took their rest by lot, and during the entire night paced the intervals between the forts.

3. All egress being now intercepted, every hope of safety to the Jews was utterly cut off; and famine, with distended jaws, was devouring the people by houses and families. The roofs were filled with women and babes in the last stage: the streets with old men already dead. Children and youths, swollen up, huddled together like spectres in the market-places; and fell down wherever the pangs of death seized them. To inter their relations, they who were themselves affected had not strength; and those still in health and vigour were deterred by the multitude of the dead, and by the uncertainty that hung over themselves. For many expired while burying others; and many repaired to the cemeteries ere the fatal hour arrived.

Amidst these calamities there was neither lamentation, nor wailing: famine overpowered the affections. With dry eyes and gaping mouths, the slowly-dying gazed on those who had gone to their rest before them. Profound silence reigned through the city, and a night pregnant with death, and the brigands more dreadful still than these. For bursting open the houses, as they would a sepulchre, they plundered the dead, and dragging off the coverings from the bodies, departed with laughter. They even tried the points of their swords in the carcases, and, to prove the temper of the blades, would run them through some of those who were stretched still breathing on the

climbing convinced me that we had reached an elevation at which it would have been absurd to seek for Phiala ; but the panorama, embracing a great part of Palestine, was so fine and varied as to balance the disappointment of a fruitless toil. Meantime my guide was so confident that we were approaching the Birket I wanted, that I followed—curious to see the result. We came at last to a deep, regularly formed oval bowl, the sloping sides of which were dotted with the stunted ilex, and there were vestiges of snow. The bottom of this bowl consisted of a level of rank green grass, soaking with water, and in the centre an oval pond, which I took to be some 150 or 200 feet in length. This pool, I was assured, is never dry. It manifestly receives the constant meltings of the snow, not only from the sides and ridges of the bowl, but from the impending mountain heights.

“Now, leaving out of the question the elevation of this spot (say 5,000 or 6,000 feet) it would be futile to attempt to compare the features and relative position of this pool with the description of Phiala as given by Josephus. (What *this* pool is you may see in the sketch I took of it on the spot, and which is in your possession.) On our way down from this lofty position, our guide began a sort of parley with my servant, expressing his vexation that he could not please me.—I had asked for a round little Birket, beside Birket-er-Ram—he had found the very thing, and that would not do ! We continued our descent, directing our course towards Mejdal, a hamlet about half-way between the ridge of Jebel Heish and Banias, and on the high road to Damascus, and where I intended to pitch my tent. On approaching the edge of the declivity at the base of which this hamlet is situated, the view given in the plate most unexpectedly presented itself : a little lake, looking very much like a circular mirror, set in a frame of gentle eminences, was before us ! The reddish brown tint of these encircling hills contrasted well with the unruffled surface of the blue waters of this pool. ‘That is the lake I wanted,’ I exclaimed to my guide. ‘No ;’ said he, ‘*that* is Birket-er-Ram.’ You will recollect that, on the authority of Dr. Robinson’s map. I had sought for a lake *other than the Birket-er-Ram*, placed too far south to be the Phiala of Josephus.

“I was then too much fatigued to attempt reaching the lake, which seemed to be at the distance of two or three miles from my encampment, and at the other extremity of a rich small plain, backed by the heights and wooded ranges of Jebel Heish. I thought I detected something like a gully, or a watercourse, between me and the lake. You will not fail to notice several points of discrepancy between my account of this pool, and those given by the few writers who believe themselves to have visited or seen the Phiala of Josephus. Irby and Mangles speak of the sides of the Bowl as regular and richly wooded ; now the sides of er-Ram did not seem to me perfectly regular ; nor were they richly wooded—though this might indeed be affirmed of the long dark range which skirts the landscape beyond.

"My guide (and in this respect his report was confirmed by that of others whom I asked) declared positively that this er-Ram, and the pool in the mountain (above mentioned) are the only sheets of water that are found in the entire region. It seemed therefore to me quite clear that Dr. Robinson, correctly judging of the position of the Phiala of Josephus, had placed it in his map very nearly where I found this last named pool; but that, not having visited the district, and finding the Birket-er-Ram on other maps, seven miles toward the south, he had inserted it there upon his own map. I believe there is no expanse of water where *that name* occurs on maps; but that, as affirmed by the people of the country, the two I had just seen are the only lakes any where about; and that the lower of the two is the actual Phiala of antiquity."

The Caravans from Damascus to Jerusalem and Gaza take either a road (or route, as it should be called) running south-west, and crossing the Jordan about seven miles below its exit from the Lake of Galilee; or one passing north of the lake, and between it and the Lake Huleh. But there is also a less frequented path, still more to the north, and which is, in part at least, identical with an ancient road, of which the remains may be traced at intervals. This road, probably, was the highway between Damascus and Tyre. It makes its way through a ravine of the Jebel Heish range, at a village named Beit Jenn; (as seen in the vignette) and thence runs on, south-west by west, to Banias (Cæsarea Philippi). On *this* road Mr. Tipping was advancing—in the opposite direction—from Banias towards Damascus, as related above, when he went in quest of the Lake Phiala. After ascending Jebel Heish to a too great elevation, he retraced his steps, and in descending came in sight of what we may so well consider as the "Bowl" of antiquity. His position was then north-west of the pool, and between it and him, in the valley or ravine, whence figures are seen ascending (in the plate), are found the remains of the *ancient* Damascus road.

Now all this consists well with that incidental notice of the spot which Josephus affords us, III. 10, 7, page 46. "Apparently," he says, "Panium is the source of the Jordan; but the water is in reality conveyed thither by a subterranean channel from Phiala, so called; which lies not far from the high road on the right, as you ascend to Trachonitis, at the distance of 120 furlongs from Cæsarea (Philippi). From its circumference it is appropriately designated Phiala; (Bowl) being a lake in form of a wheel. Its waters remain uniformly on a level with the margin, without subsidence or overflow."

This distance from the site of the ancient Cæsarea, measured upon the road track, agrees with that to the spot whence Mr. Tipping took his sketch; and the lake then before him, bearing south-east, would be at a short distance from the ancient road, and on the right hand of the traveller coming from Cæsarea toward Trachonitis—*i. e.* going toward Damascus. We can scarcely expect in any instance a more exact corroboration of an incidentally mentioned point of ancient topography.

It would be a useless, and probably a fruitless labour, and altogether unsuited to our immediate object, to attempt to determine whether the pool thus described and represented by Mr. Tipping, is the same that has been visited and described by former travellers. Captains Irby and Mangles speak of the one which they assume to be the Phiala of Josephus, and which they found on their route westward from Damascus to Banias, February 24, 1818. "The first part of the road lay through a fine plain, watered by a pretty winding rivulet, with numerous tributary streams, and many old ruined mills; we then began to ascend over very rugged and rocky ground, quite void of vegetation; in some places there were traces of an ancient paved way, probably the Roman road leading from Damascus to Casarea Philippi, as we ascended and had the highest part of Jebel Sheikh (Anti-Lebanon) on our right." This was of course on the *eastern* ascent of Jebel Heish; but if we may assume the Phiala of both travellers to be the same, then it is important to notice the circumstance, that the traces of a Roman road may be discerned on this line. Having passed the ridge of Jebel Heish, and ascended some way upon the southern side of the loftier range—Jebel Sheikh, and "passing a very small village about one o'clock, we saw," they say, "on our left" (it would be on their left, travelling westward) "close to us, a very picturesque lake, of little more than a mile in circumference, apparently perfectly circular, and surrounded by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge; its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid; a great many wild fowl were swimming in it. . . . Josephus mentions this lake under the name of 'Phiala'—a cup."

The very different circumstances under which travellers see the same objects—a different time of the year, different direction, and more or less of leisure, may in this instance sufficiently account for the points of diversity in comparing the above passages with Mr. Tipping's narrative. As to Burekhardt, it is evident in following him on his track, as given in his "Description of a Journey from Damascus through the Mountains of Arabia Petraea, &c.," that he was proceeding on the modern road which crosses the Jordan at the bridge between Lake Huleh and the Lake of Galilee; and therefore, at a distance ten miles south of the ancient road. Speaking of a reservoir which he thereabouts met with, he says, "I take this to be the Lake of Phiala, laid down in the maps of Syria, as there is no other lake or pond in the neighbourhood," p. 315. But if it were assumed so to be, neither the description given of it, nor its position in relation to Damascus and Banias, nor its distance from the latter, would agree with the testimony of Josephus; or, these particulars would consist with it only in that loose and imperfect manner which has given occasion to so many insinuations as to the value of our author's evidence. Thus, for instance, if Burekhardt's well-deserved reputation for sound judgment and accuracy were considered as far more than enough to outweigh the "ambiguous reports of Josephus," a hostile modern critic would not hesitate, after

noticing these discrepancies, to add, "This description of Phiala, it must be acknowledged, very poorly corresponds with that given by Josephus; but then it is only one among the many instances of exaggeration, or of inaccuracy, with which his writings abound." Not so, however; for a pool—a "bowl," precisely corresponding in its characteristics and in its position with the Phiala of the Jewish historian, is now brought before us; and it should be regarded as a new proof, among very many, that he was both well informed, and correct in his reports of (at least) the natural features of the country with which he professes to have been familiarly acquainted. In the heat and haste of a military narrative, he tells us, as by accident, that, "on your right hand, at a little distance from the road, as you travel from Cæsarea toward Damaseus, and 120 furlongs from the former, there is a bowl-like pool, always full to the brim;" and precisely there such a pool is now found. So it is often that the unchanging permanence of the natural features of a country lends to written history a portion of its own consistency and perpetuity. An ancient writer might, perhaps, have erased from his tablet, as superfluous, a casual notice of a physical peculiarity, attaching to the scene of the events he is narrating. But he has not erased it, and that peculiarity still presents itself—the modern traveller notes it; and it is the duty of the annotator upon an ancient historian to do so too; and thus to gather up those fragments of evidence which, from their independence and undesignedness, best support the reputation of his author.

BEIT JENN.

WE have just said that the traffic, ancient and modern, from Damaseus westward, to the several ports on the shores of the Mediterranean, southward, has followed three principal routes, crossing in its course the Lebanon range, and its offsets. Besides these there was one on the right hand, toward the north-west, which passed through Heliopolis (Baalbec) to Tripoli. One on the left hand, running by Safed, and through Galilee, reached the coast at Ptolemais, (Akka;) while a middle track, by Banias (Cæsarea Philippi) led direct to Tyre and the neighbouring maritime towns. This *middle route*, of which, as an ancient and artificially constructed road, traces are still discoverable, followed the course of a ravine in crossing Jebel Heish—the southern limb of Mount Hermon. This vignette exhibits the entrance of this pass, seen as the traveller approaches it from Damaseus, and is looking in a north-westerly direction. Before him, and at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles, is a summit of Jebel Sheikh—the loftiest range of the Lebanon mountains. On either hand are seen the rugged sides of the valley through which the road takes its course.

A winter torrent finds its way along this valley, and shows its presence in the verdure of the poplars that skirt its banks. This spot appears to have afforded a resting-place, as its name indicates, to the caravans of ancient, as it does to those of modern times. An inconsiderable stone-built village, occupying the site of one more ancient, stands at the base of the hill, on the left hand. This hill exhibits those rich varieties of colour that distinguish, and we may say, beautify, so many rugged mountain scenes in Syria.

KULAT IBN' MA'AN.

For understanding the position of the remarkable rocky escarpment exhibited in this Plate, the reader is referred to those Plates in the FIRST Volume which belong to the same range of hills. In the view of MAGDALA, the spot represented in *this* Plate is seen on the extreme left, at the distance of two or three miles from the shore of the lake. In that of GENNESARETH, it is again discernible among the rocky heights which border the plain on the right hand. In the view of HATIN, which faces page 129, the same heights are seen in a direction looking S.W., which in this of Ibn' Ma'an are shown in the contrary direction. In this Plate, a part of the lake, toward its northern end, presents itself, together with the hills of the east country. The summits of Jebel Heish are just visible toward the left, rising above and beyond the nearer range. The level, seen on the nearer side of the lake, is the Plain of Gennesareth, already referred to. The narrow valley leading up from that plain toward the rocky foreground, is the Wady el-Hûmâm—high up in which are ruins, seemingly of remote antiquity. The hill to the right, surmounted by the excavated precipitous rock, is thickly covered with tall grass and bushes, concealing the scattered blocks that have tumbled from the impending heights in the course of ages. Architectural remains are found on the summit of this height; but it is the numerous, or we might say, the *innumerable* excavations wherewith the whole of this escarpment is honey-combed, that render it peculiarly remarkable. These excavations are the more to be noted, corresponding as they do with several passages in the JEWISH WAR, in the ANTIQUITIES, and in the LIFE OF JOSEPHUS.

The calcareous hill shown in this Plate has a perpendicular face on two of its sides; and upon these are apparent the mouths of many natural caverns, reaching far into the body of the hill. Advantage has been taken, in a remote age, of these openings and chambers, which have been enlarged, and made to communicate one with another, by passages cut through the rock. In places the natural openings have been walled up, in a substantial manner, and other means have been used to render the place a commodious retreat for several hundred persons, as well as a safe and almost impregnable

fortress. Large reservoirs have also been formed in some of the caverns, intended to hold the drainage from the superior surface of the hill.

A concurrence of evidence confirms the supposition that, in this instance, we have before us the very spot that had been signalized, on often-repeated occasions, by the constancy, and as often by the obduracy, and by the woes, of the Jewish race, as well as by the ferocity of their oppressors, when, at a later time—that of Herod—these strongholds sheltered and emboldened the bands of marauders that held the two Galilees in subjection. It was here, as we venture to suppose, that those events occurred which are mentioned in the history of the Maccabees, and which are referred to or narrated by Josephus.

In what manner the leaders of banditti at this time were used to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them by the nature of the country may be learned from our author's account of the marauding chief, Simon of Gerasa. Book IV. c. 9, § 4. The same caverns—the work of nature improved by art, have in turn given shelter to the worst, and to the best men: in these “dens and caves of the earth” the robber and murderer has hid himself and his spoil; and hither have resorted many “of whom the world was not worthy.”

DAMASCUS GATE.

THE Plate, Vol. I. p. xlvii., shows the masonry of the city wall, where the work of later ages has left it visible, or where the modern part has crumbled away. The spot therein represented is found within the square tower seen on the right hand in this view of the exterior wall. Over and beyond this tower appear the domes of the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and further to the right is a tower of the citadel—Hippicus. The entire front of the Damascus Gate and the adjoining wall is of the Saracenic age; unless at a point or two where the modern incrustation has peeled off, and exposed the interior stones. But *within*, as is partially seen in the Plate above referred to, large surfaces of the ancient masonry are exposed to view, and these substructures have all the firmness, the regularity, and the precision of jointing, which bespeak a high antiquity; or which at least must be held to exclude the supposition that this wall may have been an after work, in which the scattered materials of a more ancient structure have been employed anew. There are portions of the Haram wall which plainly indicate that sort of confusion and want of fitness, which necessarily attach to a work constructed upon the site, and with the materials of a ruin. The *later* construction of the upper part is shown by the means employed by the Saracen builders to give an appearance of uniformity to the entire surface.

“Before coming to the Gate of Damascus,” (in the direction *from*

Hippicus,) "we observed," says Dr. Wilson, "what we had not seen alluded to in any book of travels, that the wall for some extent above its foundation bears, in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones, the evidence of great antiquity. The Saracens have made grooves in them, to make them correspond symmetrically with their own workmanship above; and the traveller is apt to pass them by without notice. They are decidedly of the character, however, which I have mentioned; and they are probably remains of the second wall described by Josephus."—*Lands of the Bible*, I. 421.

Now, as bearing upon a question of topography which, so far as the testimony of Josephus is concerned, claims to be noticed in this work, the reader's attention should be directed to some facts that are presented by a comparison of the two Plates here referred to—namely, that representing the INTERIOR WALL, and this of the DAMASCUS GATE.

In the first place then, let the *aspect* of the Damascus Gate be noticed, which is very nearly north-west: it stands at a right angle (nearly) with a line drawn from the north-west corner of the Haram, midway through the valley or depression which is followed by the Damascus road. This would be the *natural position* of a principal outlet of a city, on the supposition that the interior town spreads out to the right and to the left, within the walls. The placing a gate at the extreme end, or at an acute angle of a wall, is not to be looked for, unless it be in positions where some peculiarity of the ground leaves no choice to the builder. As a general rule, a city gate ranges along with the wall in which it is placed. But even if, in this instance, a departure from the rule might have been imagined, the supposition is excluded by the facts before us. The unquestionably ancient masonry, which is represented in the view of the INTERIOR WALL, occurs in the projecting tower, seen on the *right* hand in this view of the *exterior* wall; consequently, it indicates the *direction of the wall onward*, from the Damascus Gate, toward the western projection of the present city wall. That is to say, the Damascus Gate stands as a principal entrance to a city, which usually (if not invariably) must occur midway in a reach of wall; and not at the point of an acute bend.

The second wall, concerning the direction of which so much controversy has lately arisen, "took a sweep," we are told by our author, from Hippicus to the Damascus Gate. The question then is, whether this *bend* was a sweep *inwards*, or a sweep *outwards*. It might well seem strange that the wall of a city so closely built, and so densely peopled, as was the ancient Jerusalem, should, without any necessity of the site, be made to bend far inward, instead of making an easy curve *outward*. It might also seem strange that a writer describing his native city, and therefore thinking of its boundary lines *as from within*, should, in speaking of the direction of a part of the walls say, it "makes a curve," from this point to that, when what he intends is, that it is deeply inflected toward the interior of the city.

But now, in place of any hypothesis, whether probable or improbable, we find the ancient masonry of the wall running on from the Damaseus Gate continuously *outward*, as to the city, and sweeping onward, across the valley toward Hippiens. This portion of the ancient wall extends *visibly* about 300 feet from the Damaseus Gate ; and might probably be laid bare by exposing the foundations of the city wall further on in the same course.

NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE HARAM.

THE Plate, Vol. I. p. xlii. WALL NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE, shows the *eastern* face of the Haram wall, at its extreme limit towards the north. The vignette Plate now before us exhibits the *northern* face of the same wall, along with the more modern walls which abut upon it. At this point the ancient masonry, with its bevelled joints, rises to a greater height than it does in other places ; for, at this corner, there may be counted eleven tiers of stones above the general level of the ground. The direction of the eye is here nearly due south ; and the arched gateway gives admission to those sacred precincts which the feet of the "faithful," and none but theirs, may tread.

OM KEIS.

(GADARA.)

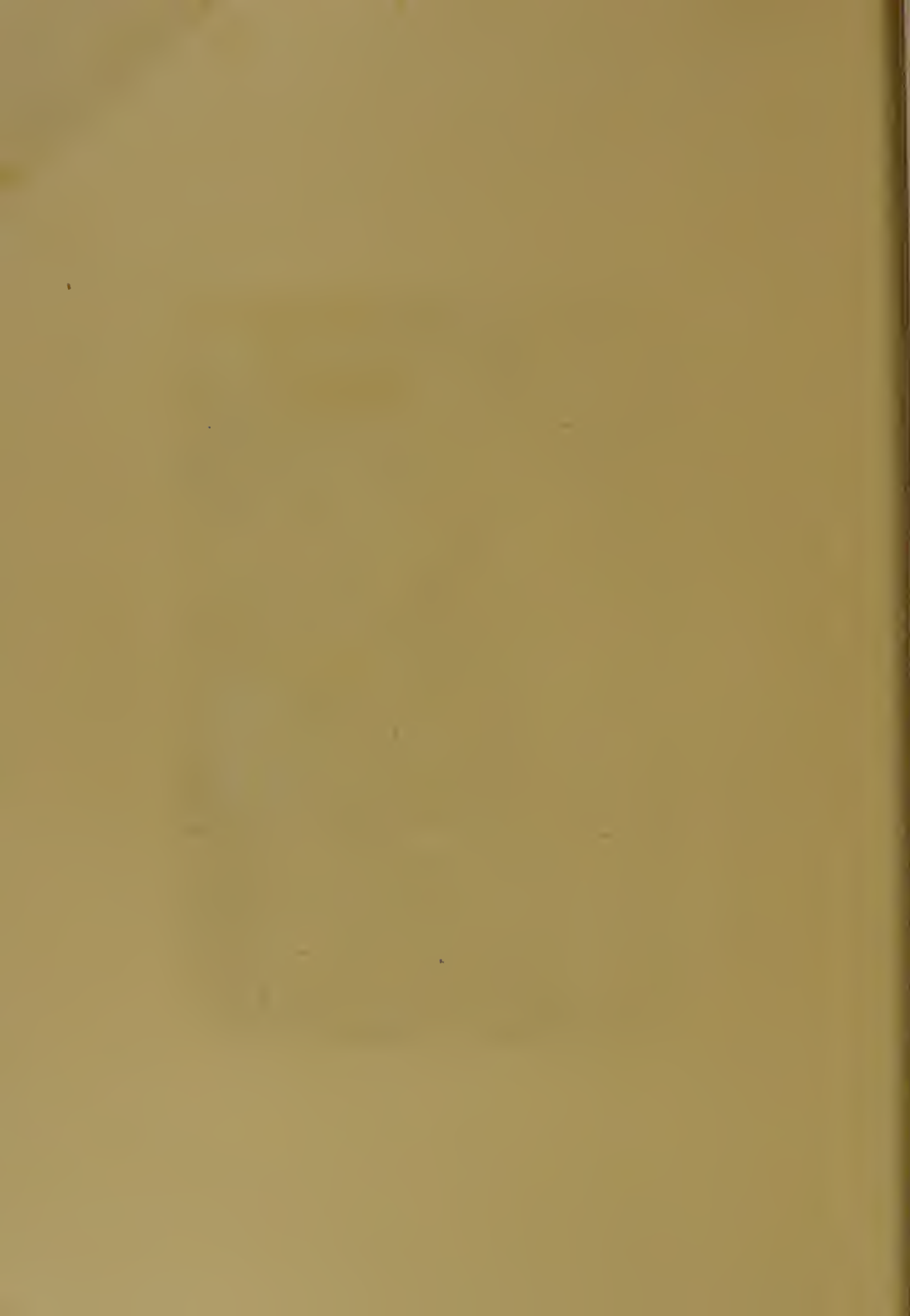
THE architectural remains embraced in this view demand some attention. They mark, as it is believed, the site of Gadara, a place very frequently mentioned by Josephus. They occur at a spot bearing S.E. by E. from the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee, at the distance of about six miles from its borders, and very near to a bend of the Yarmak—the principal tributary of the Jordan—being a confluence, collecting the streams that drain the East Country, or Bashan, far and wide.

In the Plate before us the direction of sight is nearly east, and the view connects itself with that presented in the Plate, Vol. I. p. xxxv.—REMAINS OF A THEATRE, near the Lake of Galilee. In that plate the aspect is nearly north, commanding the lake almost in its whole extent ; and the ruins which there form the foreground, here take position in front of the distant hill which shuts in the view. The reader must now be referred to the note upon *that* Plate, page xxxv. where a passage from the Journal of Irby and Mangles distinctly describes the objects which are presented in *this*. The "street" there mentioned is here seen in front, and



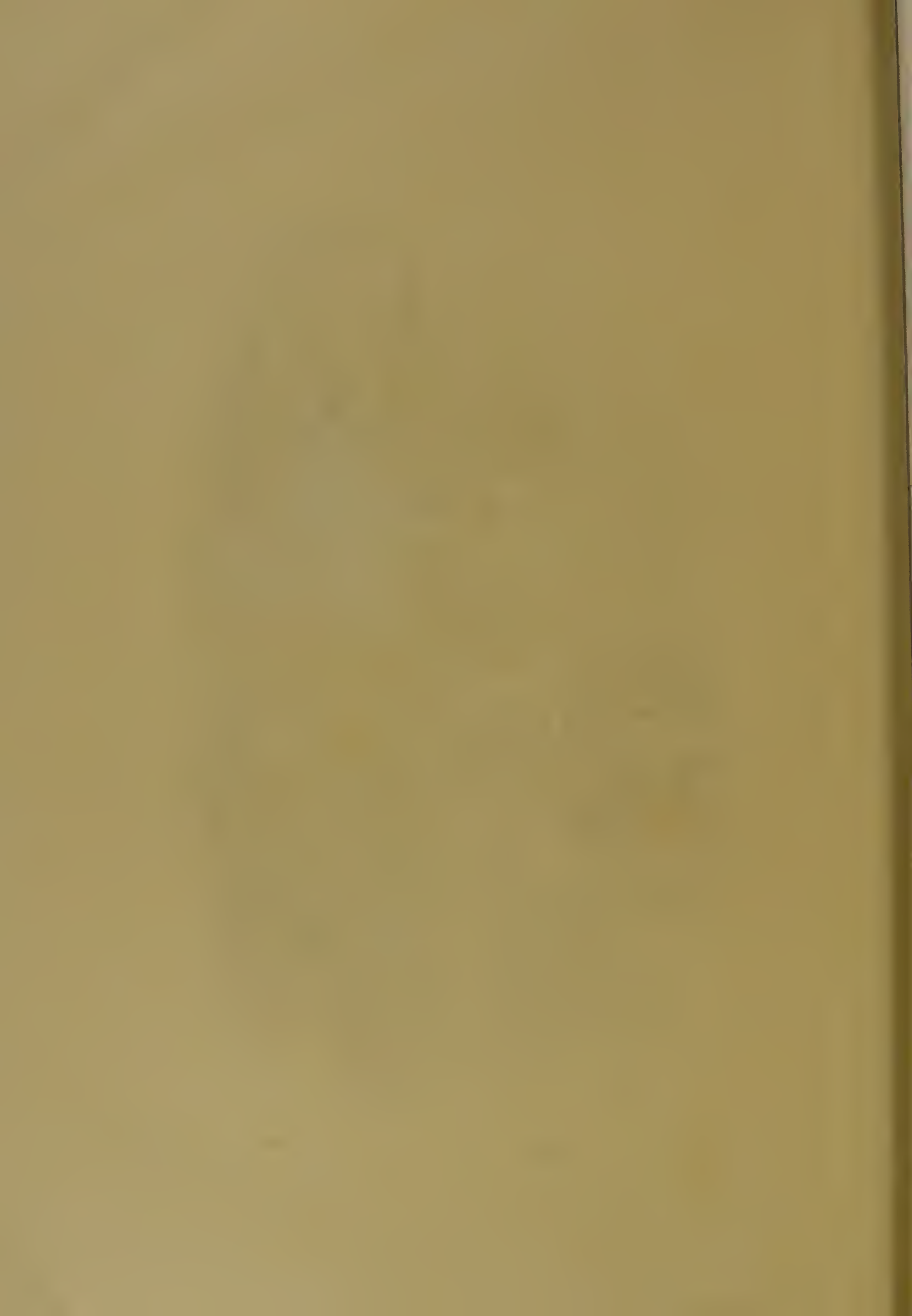


WESTERN ANGLE OF THE CITY WALL

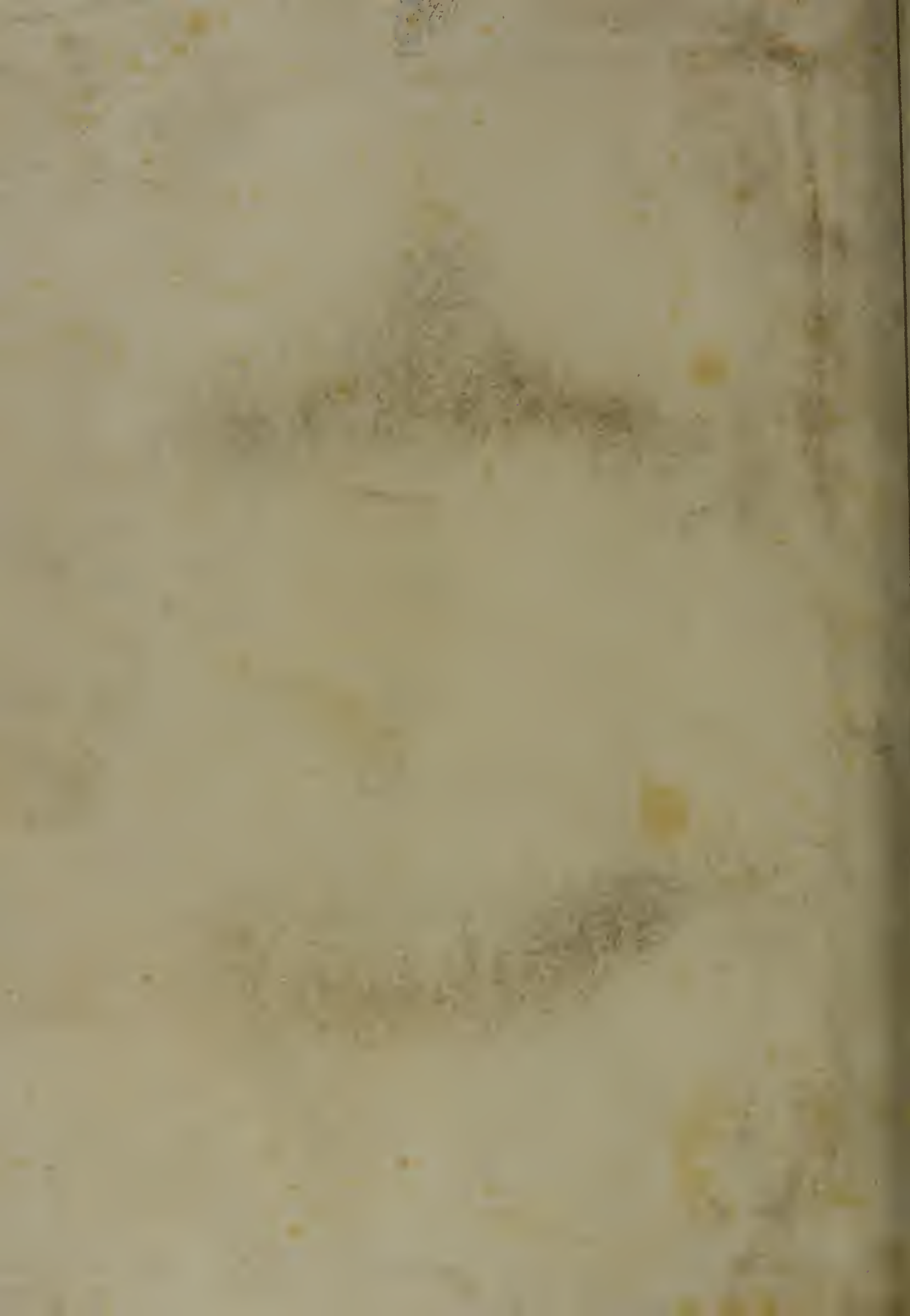




SILLOAM
AND ELAKSA







JOSEPHUS.

THE LATE DR. TRAILL'S TRANSLATION;
EDITED BY ISAAC TAYLOR.

NOTICE.

THE FIRST VOLUME of this work, containing the Life of Josephus, and the First and Second Books of the Jewish War, together with an Introductory Essay, and Explanations of the Plates, reached its completion early in the year 1847. This was soon after the afflictive event of the Translator's death, who fell a victim to the extraordinary exertions made by him to alleviate the sufferings of his Parishioners, during the famine and pestilence which then devastated the south of Ireland.

Dr. Traill having, some time before the commencement of those calamities, completed the revision of his Translation, and made other arrangements requisite for carrying the Work through the press, it had not been supposed that his death would have occasioned any interruption in the course of the publication. Obstacles, however, presented themselves which had not been foreseen, and which rendered delay unavoidable. But at length the Editor is permitted to resume his labours; and he is now able to announce the regular appearance of the Monthly Parts, completing the Second Volume, and the JEWISH WAR: each Part illustrated with Eight or more Engravings.



NOTICE.

THE interval of time since the completion of the First Volume has not been lost : on the contrary, much has been done during its continuance to render the Work deserving of the favour which it courts. The death of the Translator has indeed unavoidably led to a modification of the plan of the Work ; for although he had made much progress in preparing the *ANTIQUITIES* and the two Books against *APION* for the press, the state of the manuscript was not such as would warrant an announcement of the "entire Works of Josephus" as forthcoming. A fulfilment of this first intention of the deceased Translator, would involve far more than an Editor ought to pledge himself to undertake. Meantime it has seemed to him that the mode in which he could best set himself right in the opinion of the purchasers of the *FIRST VOLUME* was, to concentrate his endeavours upon the task of rendering the *JEWISH WAR* complete, within the compass of a Second Volume.

With this view, and as being of primary importance, the whole of the Translation, now in course of publication, has undergone a renewed and laborious revision ; for effecting which the Editor has been fortunate in engaging the aid of gentlemen fully competent to the task. The Translation, so far as comprised in the First Volume, had been revised by Dr. Traill's personal friends ; and finally by a learned member of Trinity College, Dublin, who read and corrected the sheets as they passed through the press.

The critical revision of the portion now in course of publication, has been undertaken by an accomplished member of the University of Cambridge, who, besides collating the Translation with the Greek Text, has charged himself with the task of reading the sheets as they pass through the press. In this department, therefore, the Editor is warranted in believing that the three years during which the publication of the Work has been suspended, will so have been employed as very greatly to enhance its value, as a faithful and learnedly exact version of the Greek.

During this same interval, moreover, the Editor has kept in view what was to devolve upon himself in adapting the Work to the wishes of the general reader, who, while requiring a trustworthy version of the original, would ask some incidental aid in the perusal of this remarkable history.

Moreover, time has been afforded for completing the graphic Illustrations of the Work, and for adding to the number at first intended to accompany the Jewish War. In this respect the purchasers of the First Volume will not find themselves sparingly dealt with in the Second.

HOULSTON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.

(TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.)



